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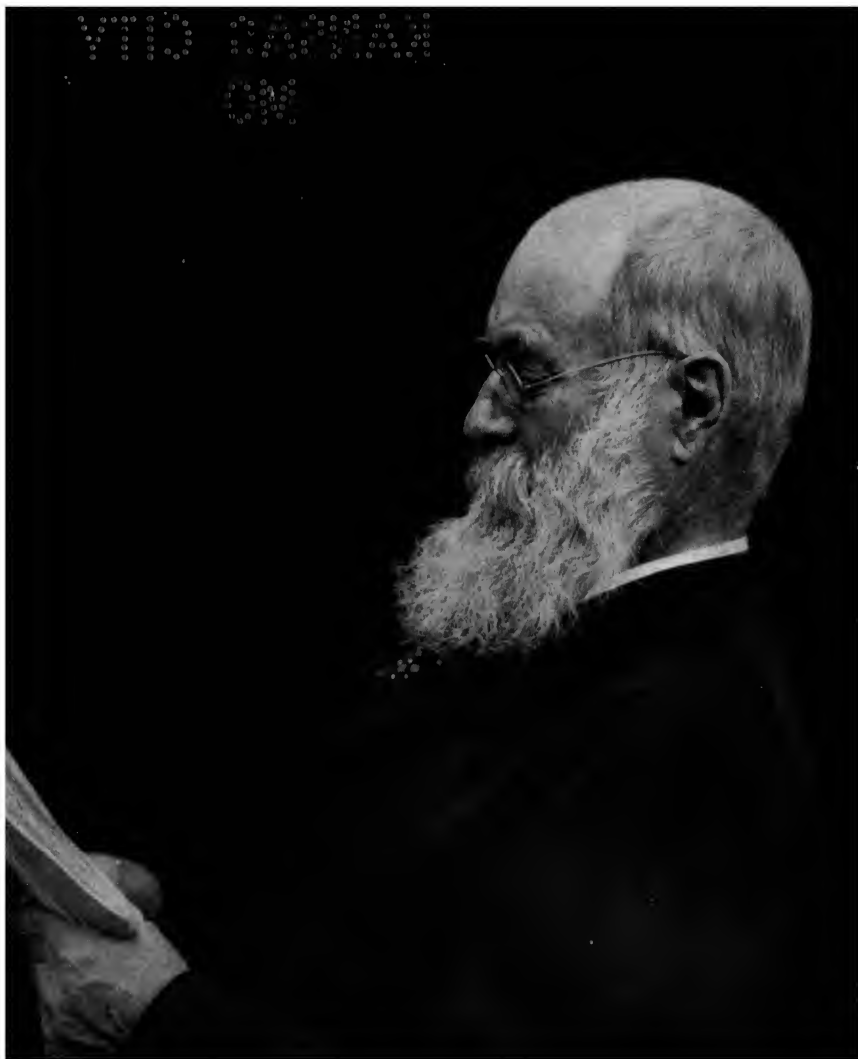
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D A N A
AND
The Sun





CHARLES A. DANA
Editor of *The Sun*—1868–1897

DANA

AND

The Sun



By

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WITH FRONTISPIECE

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TO

The Memory of

MRS. FREDERICK R. HAZARD

INTRODUCTION

SURVEYING the result, the magnitude of Miss Stone's task is evident. We knew much about Dana, of course. His own "Recollections," the formal biography by General Wilson, the intimate picture of Dana in Edward P. Mitchell's memoirs and the narratives by Frank M. O'Brien and Charles J. Rosebault convey a good idea of the famous editor of *The Sun* and his nearly thirty years of virile rule. We knew of Dana's principles, theories and attempted reforms, of his methods of attack, of his bitter conflicts waged in an era influenced by the Civil War, by the evils of Reconstruction and by cold, hard political division.

But Miss Stone has answered a question put by a later generation: "Just how did Dana go about it?" She has covered the field of Dana's labors, not merely as gleaner but as reaper; and here the harvest is gathered in the barn. We learn not only the position of *The Sun*—and Dana was *The Sun* from 1868 to 1897—but the exact language it used in attempting to carry out its purposes. The reader may find diversion in selecting, if he can, the articles written by Dana himself. But whether the pen was his, or that of James S. Pike, or Fitz-Henry Warren, or W. O. Bartlett, or Mr. Mitchell, or Francis P. Church, the mind was that of Dana in so far as the policies of *The Sun* on governmental or political matters were concerned.

With Miss Stone's opinions on Dana's policies and prejudices, both of which should be viewed against the background of his time, the present writer is not deeply concerned. What matters most is that she has presented by intelligent selection a mass of material highly useful to the historians of tomorrow; and not alone the historians of journalism but those who ceaselessly rewrite the story of the United States.

WILLIAM T. DEWART

PREFACE

CHARLES A. DANA and his newspaper have already been treated from every important point of view but one. A good general biography of Dana has been published by General James H. Wilson; an excellent general history of the *Sun* has been published by Frank M. O'Brien. Several volumes have been devoted in whole or in part to an account of the *Sun's* staff, and of their work under Dana in presenting an exceptionally bright and sparkling record of the day's news. The late E. P. Mitchell, in an urbane and graphic volume of autobiography, has sketched Dana's personality as seen by his principal editorial assistant. But no effort has heretofore been made to offer a careful and consecutive analysis of the *Sun's* editorial policies and utterances as they were shaped by Dana from 1868 to 1897. For almost thirty years he was one of the most prominent editors of the nation. He gave to the comment of his paper on current affairs a special tone; the *Sun's* attitude was always strikingly fresh and individual. There seemed a place for a volume which should summarize the pungent and witty opinions of Dana's *Sun*, should try to find what principles lay beneath them, and should appraise their value to Dana's generation.

That the *Sun* was a great journal in the news sense—that it reported the day's happenings with a vitality, gaiety, sense for human interest, and literary polish which no other journal equaled—has been generally admitted; but its editorial page under Dana was and still is regarded by different observers with very different feelings. Some have admired its sardonic grace, its dexterous irony, its malicious wit, its flashes of sheer impudence; they have delighted in its ability to puncture shams with an epigram, and to relieve public tension by a bit of drollery. Others have been offended by its levity about solemn matters, its lack of consistency, and its apparent perversity in taking the wrong side of some important issues. The author has attempted in this volume to show both the strength and weakness of Dana's editorial page. There was much in that page which ought to please everyone; there was much in it which cannot but grieve judicious readers. But whether it was right or wrong, and it could sometimes be both on the same question

within forty-eight hours, it was almost invariably amusing. It is difficult not to believe that Dana's main purpose was not to make it just this—always incalculable, always individual, frequently a little shocking but always interesting. His editorial page was never dull. Whatever the reader may think of this effort to condense its most salient opinions within two covers, the author must confess that she has greatly enjoyed the task of going through thirty years of editorial files. It has often been impossible not to look ahead eagerly to see what Dana would say next on some topic of burning public interest at that time.

In writing this volume the author has incurred many debts. The officers of the New York *Sun*, and most particularly Mr. William T. Dewart, president of the corporation, and Mr. Frank M. O'Brien, editor, have been extremely helpful. Publication of the volume has been made possible by a generous gift from Mr. Dewart; for his interest and generosity it is difficult to express due gratitude. It is only fair to Mr. Dewart and Mr. O'Brien to state that neither is responsible for any of the statements made in this book. Syracuse University made a grant of money to the author which helped defray a large part of the initial cost of residence in New York and of research. For this Dr. William E. Mosher, Director of the School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, is especially to be thanked.

The author also wishes to express her gratitude to Allan Nevins, professor of history at Columbia University, who suggested the subject to her, and gave her constant aid and advice in writing the book. She was guided also by Professor Henry Steele Commager of New York University and Professor John A. Krout of Columbia University. Valuable assistance was given in research by M. Ruth Layton, Shirley Merrill Cogland and Conrad Lynn. To Miss Layton the author is further indebted for cataloguing the vast amount of notes taken on the *Sun* and for work on the manuscript through all its preliminary stages including the editing of the first draft. In reading the page proof and in preparing the bibliography and index the author has received generous assistance from Gene Phillips. And to many others, including Miss Mary A. Reilly, Secretary of the History Department, Columbia University, she is obligated for innumerable services.

The gathering of material for this book was greatly facilitated by the courtesy of several librarians. To Mr. Louis H. Fox, Chief of the Newspaper Room, New York City Public Library, and to Miss Edith R. Blan-

chard, Assistant Librarian, John Hay Memorial Library, Brown University, the author is especially indebted.

It is a distinct pleasure to the author to have this opportunity to thank Dr. Nevins publicly for all he has done to make possible the production of *Dana and The Sun*. Having him as her advisor has made the writing of this book a privilege. Not only has she had the benefit of his suggestions and criticisms but the tempo at which he works has been contagious and the example of his scholarship and literary skill a constant inspiration. It is as difficult for her to express the full measure of the admiration felt for him as it is easy to imagine what *Dana and The Sun* would have been had he written it.

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CHAPTER I

CHARLES A. DANA

As Charles A. Dana and the New York *Sun* were inseparable for twenty-nine years, it is impossible to evaluate the point of view and character of that paper without a knowledge of its editor's background, training and experiences. Dana was forty-nine years old when he became editor of the *Sun*; he took with him ready-made the ideas, prejudices, and principles which for the most part shaped its policy and determined its influence.

When Dana's *Sun* first brightened the New York sky line on January 27, 1868, nearly every problem and issue confronting the nation had its source in the Civil War. Out of the conflict had come a prostrate and embittered South and a victorious but demoralized North, a staggering public debt, a Negro population converted overnight from slavery to freedom, strained relations with England and France, business stagnation and unemployment, a protective tariff in place of tariff for revenue only, a triumphant Republican party and discredited Democratic party, and a quarrel between President and Congress. How the *Sun* would approach these new problems depended primarily upon its editor and manager.

Four rare experiences, after the age of twenty-one, contributed to the ideas of Dana as reflected in the editorial pages of the *Sun*: He lived for five years among the Transcendentalists at Brook Farm. Then for eight months he traveled in France and Germany observing the revolutions of 1848-1849. For fifteen years he worked under Greeley on the *Tribune* and during the last two years of the Civil War he was military observer for the Federal Government, a trusted and influential agent of the Secretary of War.

Charles Anderson Dana was born August 8, 1819, at Hinsdale, New Hampshire, scion of a lesser branch ¹ of the distinguished Dana family.

¹ Based upon statements made by several persons intimately acquainted with the Danas, and confirmed by a study of the Dana Genealogy.

His mother was Ann Denison.² She died when Charles was nine years old, leaving four small children who were parceled out among the members of the Denison family. Charles was sent to an uncle in Vermont where he attended the district school, worked on the farm, and studied Latin. At twelve he was sent to Buffalo, then a small frontier city, where he clerked in the general store of another uncle. The panic of 1837 ruined his uncle's business, leaving the boy to his own resources. But he was by no means unresourceful, for he had improved his spare time while clerking by going on with his Latin, to which he had added Greek. He had also begun to read English literature, to write verses and essays; and with the help of friends he had formed a literary society known as the Coffee Club. With this preparation, with an immense intellectual curiosity and about \$200 saved from his meager earnings, he matriculated at Harvard in 1839. There he spent two happy years struggling against poverty and responding to the challenge of new ideas. In 1841, both his eyes and his funds having given out, he left college to teach school for a year, but never returned.³ At this point the study of Dana as a rising young idealist begins.

While Dana was away from college, teaching at Scituate, Mass., the Rev. George Ripley was launching the Brook Farm experiment at West Roxbury, Mass. Dana had made his acquaintance at Harvard, where many were under the influence of the Transcendentalist movement led by Emerson and others including Ripley. Dana's keen mind was soon alert to their theories, so different from the Congregationalism on which he had been brought up. When he had been at Harvard less than a term he wrote Dr. Austin Flint, one of his Buffalo friends, that he took to Transcendentalism "rather kindly though I stumble sadly at some notions." The movement he believed "must produce a revolution in politics, morals and religion, sooner or later . . . and though the immediate reaction of the mind may be somewhat ultra, it is cheering to know that a genuine earnest action of some sort is in progress. Even old Harvard is feeling it."⁴

Dana appears to have gone into Transcendentalism thoroughly and to have taken a keen interest in the plan of Dr. Ripley to apply its teaching to daily life by establishing a co-operative community, where

² A good account of the Denison family can be found in Wilson, James Harrison, *The Life of Charles A. Dana*. No mention is made of it in the Dictionary of American Biography.

³ See Wilson, for full account of Dana's early years.

⁴ Wilson, 19.

intellectual and manual labor were to be combined in ideal proportions. On November 21, 1840 he again wrote Dr. Flint:

Apropos of Mr. Ripley, he leaves his church on the 1st of January as I am informed. He is to be one of a society who design to establish themselves at Concord, or somewhere in the vicinity, and introduce, among themselves at least, a new order of things. Their object is social reformation, but of the precise nature of their plans, I am ignorant. Whether the true way to reform this dead mass—society—be to separate from it and commence without it, I am in doubt. The leaders of this movement are Mr. Emerson and Mr. Alcott, and those who are usually called Transcendentalists.

With these men are my sympathies. I honor as much as ever their boldness, freedom, and philanthropy; but I am beginning to regard their philosophy and theology quite differently. The fact is, as I think, their system is nothing more nor less than Pantheism. Though the most esoteric of their doctrines were never communicated to me, I never felt entirely satisfied, even in the time of my belief in those of theirs which I understood. I feel now an inclination to orthodoxy, and am trying to believe the real doctrine of the trinity. Whether I shall settle down in Episcopacy, Swedenborgianism, or Goethean indifference to all religion, I know not. My only prayer is, "God help me."

After all, doctor, speculative opinions and creeds are of little consequence. The great matter is to get rid of this terrible burden of sin—to bring our thoughts and lives into harmony with the law of God.⁵

It is noteworthy that Dana's difference of opinion with the founders of the new society was restricted to their philosophy and theology. He admired and eagerly accepted their social aims, radical though they were. But in the matter of religion, which touched him profoundly, he clung to orthodoxy rejecting, or at least treating with suspicion, whatever seemed visionary or elaborate. Still if men "whose intelligence, strength, and acuteness" he respected could accept the visionary, he was willing to give it a trial. In July 1841, he applied to Dr. Ripley for admission to Brook Farm.⁶

Dr. Ripley's reply, August 4th, could have left no doubt in Dana's mind as to the nature of the experiment in which he was to participate.

. . . It is from the young, the energetic, the pure minded, the self-relying, who have given no hostages to society and who expect and ask but little of it, that the life-blood of our enterprise is to proceed. So far God has prospered us. Our present social relations are more truly Christian and democratic than

⁵ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 30.

ought I know of elsewhere; and with an unflinching spirit of perseverance, self-sacrifice, and hope, it will not be long before we shall be able to live in accordance with the divinest laws of man's nature.⁷

Admirers of Dana, who came to know him when Brook Farm was merely a legend and who would probably have laughed at such an experiment, have found it hard to account for this step in the career of the aggressive, clear-headed, Assistant Secretary of War and editor of the *New York Sun*. To them Dana's letter to his sister soon after he joined Brook Farm, September 17, 1841, is proof that he still had his feet on the ground:

. . . I returned from Buffalo four weeks since, but as my eyes are not fully restored, although they are considerably improved, I have not returned to college. I am living with some friends who have associated themselves together for the purpose of living purely and justly and of acting from higher principles than the world recognizes. I study but little—only as much as my eyes will permit. I pay for my board by labor upon the farm and by giving instruction in whatever lies within my capacity. I thought at first of proposing to come and stay with you, but the excellent society into which I should here be thrown, and a warm sympathy with the peculiar views of my friends, decided me to come here.⁸

Taken literally, this would indicate that Dana went to Brook Farm because he had weak eyes and because he preferred its society to his sister's household. His poverty may also have had something to do with it,⁹ though one of his professors at Cambridge had previously written him not to hesitate to return to Harvard, as he would be provided for by the college in some way.¹⁰ Doubtless his motives were mixed. He knew he would find at Brook Farm the mental stimulus that he longed for; he sympathized with its objects. At the same time, the decision was a practical solution for various of Dana's immediate problems. He was sufficiently impressed with the financial prospects of Brook Farm to borrow \$1,500 with which to buy three of its shares.

Two years later, under the influence of Albert Brisbane, the Brook Farm Association, against the wishes of Dana and some other members, reorganized as a Phalanx based upon the socialistic system advocated

⁷ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 31-32.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

by Fourier.¹¹ His doctrine accorded perfectly with the "dearest wish" of Ripley's:

. . . to insure a more natural union between intellectual and manual labor, than now exists; to combine the thinker and the worker, as far as possible, in the same individual; to guarantee the highest mental freedom, by providing all with labor adapted to their tastes and talents, and securing to them the fruits of their industry; to do away with the necessity of menial services by opening the benefits of education and the profits of labor to all; and thus to prepare a society of liberal, intelligent, and cultivated persons, whose relations with each other would permit a more wholesome and simple life than can be led amidst the pressure of our competitive institutions.¹²

For five years Dana worked, laughed, talked and wrote in this atmosphere of Transcendental-Fourierism. He taught German and Greek; helped milk the cows and care for the dairy; contributed articles, first to the *Dial* and then the *Harbinger*; acted as head waiter in the dining-room and as trustee and secretary-treasurer for the community. He lived in daily intercourse with Dr. and Mrs. Ripley, John S. Dwight, Nathaniel Hawthorne, George William Curtis, and Father Hecker, as well as such humble folk as a valet, a pressman, a baker, farm hands and domestics. He also became acquainted with Emerson, W. H. Channing, Margaret Fuller and other guests at the Farm, and with those who sympathized with the experiment at a distance, among them Horace Greeley. Finally he cemented the bond of loyalty to the society by marrying Eunice Macdaniel, one of its most attractive members.

Of equal importance to Dana's development was his daily practice of the principles and ideas of the society. He lived in an environment which dignified labor as much as it exalted learning, and made no social distinctions between professional workers and laborers provided all met the test of character. The members combined educational and artistic pursuits with outdoor work, receiving the same remuneration for either type of service.¹³ Nor were any distinctions made between men and women in pay or in the management of the community.¹⁴ Later, Dana's *Sun* poked fun at Susan B. Anthony and her Women's Rights notions,

¹¹ Swift, Lindsey, *Brook Farm*, 147; see also Dana's Address on Brook Farm delivered at the University of Michigan (1895), reprinted in Wilson, 525. Footnoted as Dana, *Brook Farm*.

¹² Swift, 15-16.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 52.

¹⁴ Dana, *Brook Farm*, 528.

but it also advocated equal pay for men and women for equal work—in a day when this idea was thought radical.

After the association became incorporated as the Brook Farm Phalanx new members and branches of industry were added, including shoe-making, carpentry, and work in britannia metal:

. . . Each person chose what he wished to do, what groups he would work in, and none of the boys and girls tried to shirk. There was more entertainment in doing the duty than in getting away from it. Everyone was not only ready for his work, but glad to do it, and this brings me to a peculiar feature of the system; the person who did the most disagreeable work was the one to receive special honor and distinction, because he was a servant of the others and was rendering to his brother a service not pleasant in itself, but which, in other circumstances, they would render to him. It was this scheme of social democracy that was one of the most suggestive features.¹⁵

This feature of Brook Farm may account for the *Sun's* advocacy of apprenticeship and trade schools, and its opposition to professional education for "mechanics" as a sign of snobbish inability to appreciate the joy and value of manual work. Likewise the *Sun's* lack of religious prejudice under Dana might be traced to these Brook Farm days. Here one religion was as good as another and creed was of little importance, for it was the inner spirit that mattered:

. . . There was a religion at Brook Farm, but it was by no means a religious community. Spiritual culture, except in the case of particular individuals, was pursued more as a diversion or a respite from more engrossing interests. . . . Although there was no dogmatism, and "controversial discussion was unknown," there is no recorded evidence of any open, bold opposition to the accepted forms of faith; there was, assuredly, no crudeness or blatancy in this matter.¹⁶

While living at Brook Farm, Dana had no doubt as to the practical value of the experiment. Yet fifty years later, he asked, "Is the theory sound? Is that sort of social reform practicable?"; and answered that he did not know.¹⁷ But Dana felt that if Brook Farm accomplished nothing as an attempt to reform society, it did accomplish a great deal of good to those who took part.¹⁸ He also made it clear that Brook Farm was by

¹⁵ Dana, *Brook Farm*, 532.

¹⁶ Swift, 115–116.

¹⁷ Dana, *Brook Farm*, 533–534.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

no means communistic either in its principles or practices. He said, "The only thing that had the appearance of communism was the common opportunity of education and a living at the same time."¹⁹ Although Brook Farm was called by Dana and others an experiment in socialism it was not socialistic in the Marxian sense, for it rejected none of the fundamental principles of capitalism. As Dana explained it:

. . . the socialism of that day contemplated merely a system of associated living, of combined households, with joint stock ownership of the joint property; every stockholder to get his share in the profits, which he had helped to earn, and the share earned by the capital ownership was most repugnant to the theorists we are speaking of. Individuality and liberty were their cherished objects, and all forms of communism they zealously repudiated. Nor did the socialism we are considering start from the uneducated or the poor. Its adherents were the people who had gathered in the fruit of the highest education, the fullest knowledge, the highest refinement that was known to American society in those times.²⁰

This then was the socialism Dana imbibed in his young manhood, enlarged by association for eight months with Social Democrats, Red Republicans and Socialists abroad. It was radical only in its determination to extend the principles of eighteenth century agrarian democracy from the political sphere of mankind to his social and industrial activities, and in its renunciation of competition in favor of co-operation. Many years were to elapse before Dana, the Brook Farmer, became Dana of the *Sun*. In the meantime America was rapidly changing from a land of horse and water power to a continent of steam and machinery.

After the Phalanstery at Brook Farm burned down, March 3, 1846, Dana took his bride to Boston where he was employed by the *Daily Chronotype*, at four dollars a week, reading exchanges and editing news. It was here his acquaintance with Greeley stood him in good stead; for in February 1847, he secured employment as city editor of the *Tribune*. In a short time Dana struck for higher wages. Realizing his worth as a journalist, Greeley advanced him to fourteen dollars a week, just a dollar less than his own pay.²¹

During the following year the revolution against the government of Louis Philippe broke out in France. It appeared that a republic might be

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 528.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 522.

²¹ Wilson, 61.

established and many democratic reforms put into effect. Dana was intensely interested. News that the revolution had spread to Germany rekindled his early ambition to go there, and in the spring of 1848 he set sail for Europe. To defray his expenses and support his family, he arranged with Greeley and four other papers²² to send a weekly letter. According to Wilson, these letters, though "not absolutely identical . . . constituted the first syndicate correspondence ever contracted for by any one either in Europe or America."²³

On July 14, 1848, Dana's first letter to the *Tribune* was published. He was announced to the American public by the following comment in a box at the top of the column:

However many may condemn his undisguised sympathy with the misguided laborers who were driven by their own miseries and the arts of intriguers into so dreadful a rebellion, his analysis of the origin and nature of the conflict must commend itself to the appreciation of all.

Dana was naturally on the side of the Republicans and Social Democrats, believing passionately that the republican form of government was the cornerstone of human happiness. In his first letter, he boldly declared:

It is no longer Fourierism or Communism, nor this nor that particular system which occupies the public mind of France, but it is the general idea of Social rights and Social Reorganization. Everyone now is more or less a Socialist except the usurers and traders by nature, and even among them something of the light has penetrated . . . the movement is now only at the beginning and nothing indicates that the period of convulsive transition is over. The old Revolution was an awful spectacle of desolation; but from this distance we can look back and reckon the great good that it accomplished. It destroyed the old Feudalism and laid foundations of political liberty. The new Revolution has also its work to do. It is to destroy the moneyed feudalism and lay the foundation of social liberty. Will it do this without suffering and disturbance? It might have done it, one would say, but the leaders were wanting, now the probability is it cannot. But through whatever trials France has yet to pass it would be Atheism to doubt that Providence directs them, and that the good of Humanity is the end of all.²⁴

Whether Dana accepted the principle of violent revolution or not, he was ready to admit that much good might come from it. In his letter of

²² McMichael's *Philadelphia America*; *New York Commercial Advertiser*; *Harbinger*; *Chronotype*.

²³ *Life of Dana*, 63.

²⁴ *Tribune*, July 14, 1848.

August 3, devoted chiefly to a dissertation upon the qualities of Proudhon, he distinguished between violent and pacific Socialists:

M. Proudhon belongs to the former; the Fourierists form the prominent portion of the latter. The one seek to drive society into their mode of thinking; they have for allies the misery of the people and the criminal indifference of the moneyed classes: the other trust to the force of truth and believe that reason is a better weapon than the sword.²⁵

No doubt Dana, having been exposed to Fourierism at Brook Farm, preferred social change by the process of evolution. But when faced with an actual situation in France theory quickly gave way to reality:

A large portion of the middle class admit the idea of the elevation of the working classes . . . but at the same time they retreat from all thought of responsibility on their part. They say to the workmen: "Poor fellows; you wish one day to be independent, just as your ancestors were emancipated from serfdom . . . but you must bring it about for yourselves. To be sure, we are strong because we have got the fruits of your labor; and you are weak because they have been taken from you; but we look out for our interests and you must look out for yours." To this reasoning the workmen reply with June insurrections. Thousands are killed on both sides, the workmen are put down, and shot or transported and so the debate is closed . . .²⁶

When the horrors of this insurrection were still fresh in his mind Dana had written "it would be better" to have "peace and order . . . established even at the cost of some disappointment in the recognition of the principles of Industrial Cooperation."²⁷ But a month later he not only regarded resort to violence as unavoidable, but claimed that if used it would be forced upon the people not by the workers who were demanding reform but by the upper and middle classes, the bourgeoisie, who were resisting it.

The duration and painfulness of this struggle must depend on the party that . . . resists the movement. The innovation proceeds from the people; the resisting party in the bourgeoisie; in '89 that innovation proceeded from the bourgeoisie and the resisting party was the aristocracy. Kings and nobilities have learned that if thrones are not abandoned and titles surrendered it is apt to be worse for the obstinate incumbents. But social privileges men have not learned to yield; the whole field of social rights is an untried arena;

²⁵ *Ibid.*, see also Aug. 21, 1848.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug. 7, 1848.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, July 29, 1848.

the bourgeoisie have as firm a faith in the strength of their cause as the nobility had in theirs in '89. . . . They regard the people with the same contempt then levelled on themselves. They think the innovation is foolish and impracticable; just so thought the aristocracy. They think it is anti-social and barbarous; just so thought the aristocracy; they hate the masses that cry out against their privileges claiming an emancipation not intelligible to those holding the power complained of; just so did the aristocracy.²⁸

At home Dana had been confident that social democracy could be achieved through industrial co-operation on the Brook Farm principle, and in his first letter to the *Tribune* advanced it as the main objective of the revolution in France.

But as Dana listened to the debates in the National Assembly he swung farther and farther to the left.²⁹ No radical Socialist could have been more scathing in his denunciation of the compromise finally reached, giving to the worker not a guarantee of the right to labor but the insult of paternalism and charity:

. . . The clause, as adopted, declares that it is the duty of the Republic, by paternal assistance, to assure an existence to necessitous citizens, whether by procuring them Labor within the limits of its Resources, or by furnishing to those whose families are unable to support them the means of living. This . . . is a very different thing from the guaranty of the Right to Labor.

The Right to Labor is the Right to Live. In Savage Society an able bodied man without an average share of the means of living is an impossibility. . . . It is only in civilized Society that the Free Citizen, able and willing to work, is deprived of the opportunity, and his Right to Live, by the exercise of the faculties that Nature conferred upon him, denied.

What is the end of Society? We are told that it is the protection, happiness, improvement, perfection of its members. . . . But, unless it assures to all the opportunity of living by their labor, it falls short of its idea of equality and leaves thousand upon thousand exposed to the most terrible of chances—the chance of finding themselves too many in the world, without any escape for their miseries other than the destruction of themselves or Society. . . . Hence revolutions.³⁰

At no time did Dana conceal the fact that his sympathies were with those who stood for "the guarantee of a subsistence procured by labor,

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Aug. 29, 1848.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 16, 29, Sept. 6, 26, Oct. 3, 1848.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Oct. 11, 1848.

and a series of institutions to make good that guarantee.”³¹ Just before returning to the United States, he repeated:

. . . Through the whole commotion and excitement I have beheld nothing to shock my faith in the Divine Providence and the sure though gradual development of society into noble and happy states. My sympathies were with the people when they were triumphant, and when their heroism and enthusiasm commanded the admiration of the world; they have been with them in their errors and misfortunes; they are with them still in a hope which outlives defeat and forgets disaster.³²

This is not surprising when one remembers Dana’s Brook Farm background and the fact that he himself had sprung from working people. But what does interest us is Dana’s youthful attitude toward social revolution. Not only does he justify social revolution, but intimates that if violence is used it will be the fault of the capitalists. He summarized the good produced by the revolutions in France, Germany, Austria, Hungary and Italy in the following terms:

. . . Briefly it consists in the opening wide of the way of progress. In the putting of society face to face with the questions on which its fate depends, and in the raising of many minds to solve them. Of positive results it has little to show—nothing in comparison with the evils by which it has been attended. But all evil is temporary. Good is permanent and renews itself forever. The carnage of the battlefield disappears, but the liberty thereby achieved remains for the latest generations. The impulse given to the heart and mind of Christendom by the year 1848 will wake after its ruins are rebuilt. This impulse is everywhere in new and more vigorous life, in all countries of Europe—even in England. . . . The basis of the social structure is industry. If there is wrong in the relations of industry—that is, of property and labor—the time will arrive when they must be reformed or the whole structure will go to pieces.³³

Hating war did not make Dana a pacifist. There were other things he hated more: European absolutism, American slavery, and human oppression in every form. In other words war was justifiable, even glorious, if the end to be attained was just and glorious. And he appeared to be quicker in justifying it than in discovering ways of accomplishing the same end by peaceful means. Furthermore, in 1848 he believed a

³¹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 3, 1848.

³² *Ibid.*, Feb. 13, 1849.

³³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 13, 1849.

war between "LIBERTY" and "DESPOTISM" inevitable, not only between the Republicans of France and the autocrats of Europe but between the radicals of industrial democracy and the despots of economic aristocracy, for the reason that political liberty was only a step in the path of social democracy. In October he wrote from Paris:

. . . I have not been arguing in favor of war for the sake of war. God forbid that any man should be so depraved as that! I have simply attempted to show that war is inevitable, that it will be a war between France and Russia, or between Liberty and Despotism. The issue of the war, as I have already said, can only be in favor of Liberty; first political liberty will be established, clearing the way for progress, and then will follow equality and fraternity. All is not attained with the overthrow of despots, and all the despotism is not overthrown when the kings are driven from their capitals. From political to social and industrial freedom, the distance at times seems long, but it is not too long for humanity.³⁴

It is apparent at this time that to Dana one of the chief obstacles to social and industrial freedom was monopoly in business, a form of oppression more terrible in its consequences even than war itself.

Monopolies, that oppress whole classes do not come off easily but once off can never be restored, and whatever the agitation may cost let us remember this truth, which is too generally overlooked and too easily forgotten, that it cannot be as destructive, inhuman, and fatal in its consequences as the evil that occasions it. . . . The struggle for freedom may be terrible, but the stagnation of oppression is more so. The French agitation has its sufferings, but a return to the old quiet would be worse.³⁵

Though Dana eventually came to believe that the consolidation of business and industry was not only inevitable but desirable, he refused to accept its logical accompaniment, namely, centralization in government, denouncing it to the end as vicious bureaucracy, the destroyer alike of individual freedom and initiative and of local and State rights.

A recapitulation of the opinions grafted upon Dana's Brook Farm philosophy by his European experience may help to explain his attitude toward subsequent events and bring into relief more sharply the extent to which age, wealth, power and disillusionment combined to turn idealism into cynicism and liberalism into reactionary dogmatism.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 23, 1848.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Oct. 18, 1848.

From the first Dana believed that the Revolutions of 1848 resulting in the overthrow of Louis Philippe and the establishment of Republican Government in France were provoked more by social and economic injustices than antipathy to Monarchy and were primarily an attempt on the part of the poverty stricken workers to secure better wages and the right to labor, greater opportunity for education and more freedom of religion. He also became convinced that such revolutions were brought on by the governing classes who grimly clung to their traditional power refusing to recognize the inevitable progress of civilization.

Dana warmly sympathized with the laboring masses, believing that they had certain natural rights, such as the right to a job, the right to a standard of living above the subsistence level, and the right to a social order which would guarantee security. Added to these were liberty of conscience, religion, and labor; freedom of opinion, freedom of the press, free voting and free education.³⁶ How were these to be secured? By substituting co-operation for competition. He abhorred the kind of competition that was fostered by selfish individualism. He had come to Europe imbued with the Brook Farm conception of individualism and democracy and his experience there only served to strengthen his faith in co-operation. He also abhorred business monopoly and governmental centralization, which he believed destroyed individual initiative and responsibility in both the economic and political spheres.

As a corollary to his developing social faith, he was shocked and disillusioned by the harsh treatment accorded to laboring classes in England; also by the failure of Parliament to ameliorate the condition of Ireland. This disillusionment was turned into bitter resentment during the Civil War, resulting in the pronounced anti-British policy of the *Sun*.

Dana regarded war as a necessary evil in the existing stage of human development. To him it was horrible because of the suffering entailed but stagnation was worse; and if the cause be just and the purpose noble, then war was glorious and all honor should be paid to those who took part in it. So far as can be discovered he made no attempt to justify defensive as distinguished from offensive war. It was the end that justified the means, not the character of the struggle. This attitude was reflected in the *Sun's* attitude toward American intervention in Cuba.

From the foregoing summary the future editor of the *Sun* appears to

³⁶ Wilson, 76.

have been a flaming radical for the America of his youth, and there was no reason to anticipate that his connection with the *Tribune* and his Civil War experiences would quench his enthusiasm for liberty and social democracy. Indeed, one would not be surprised, were the youthful Dana living today, to find him defending the right of Socialists and Communists to freedom of speech and justifying the use of violence, if necessary, to achieve the final emancipation of the laboring classes.

But when it is remembered that Dana was writing about political, social, and economic conditions in *foreign* countries, which had not yet attained the equality of economic opportunity enjoyed in the United States; that the contrasts between his own country and those abroad were bound to convince him still further of the superiority of American institutions; that in 1848–1849 he was quite satisfied with the Brook Farm philosophy, by which the reform of society was begun at the top; that with all his vision neither he, nor anyone else, in 1848 and 1849, had perceived the transformation to be wrought in America within a single generation by the Industrial Revolution; when all this is remembered one might hesitate to predict just how Dana would regulate the *Sun* during a most bewildering period of American history.

Wilson gives the year 1855, six years after his trip to Europe, as marking the end of Dana's "illusions" regarding social reform. This conclusion is based upon an editorial he wrote for the *Tribune* announcing the failure of the North American Phalanx in New Jersey. Dana wrote:

The great practical difficulty in these experiments has been to secure a due sense of responsibility, and a due vigilance for the common good. The immediate spur of self interest not being directly felt as in the ordinary mode of life, and the needful amount of food and clothing being tolerably certain, the mass of the members have not been impelled to work so diligently or to save so carefully as if everything depended upon the economy of the day, or as if an employer were overlooking them. Thus a thriftless and careless way of going on has too often grown up in the association, and while a few have borne more than their share of the toil and care, others have borne less. The truth is indisputable that in the association pinching economy can less easily be practiced than in isolated life. Keep people apart and they can bear privation and want, if not with facility, without complaint, but bring them into genial and natural relations, and what was before luxury becomes necessity. They require to be better fed and better housed, and to have much more leisure for the social pleasures and opportunities of culture put within their reach. Between association and poverty there is a natural contradiction, and we suspect that the former can never be completely realized until the progress of

science, invention, and industry has endowed society with an abundance of wealth of every kind, such as we now scarcely imagine.³⁷

If this be disillusionment it is not without hope, and leaves one convinced that it required more than the closing of Brook Farm and the failure of other experiments in democracy to turn Dana from an idealist into a cynic.

Not long after Dana resumed work on the *Tribune* the questions of a transcontinental railroad, protective tariff, and slavery began to crowd out his interest in social democracy and the European situation. The *Tribune* favored the first two as emphatically as it opposed slavery; and while on all three Greeley and Dana were agreed, they do not appear to have been motivated by similar principles. Dana believed it was the manifest destiny of the United States to embrace not only North America but the entire Western Hemisphere. This was to be effected not by aggression but by natural gravitation. To prepare for this destiny the United States must be bound together by railroads and have sufficient industries to be self-sustaining. A coast to coast railroad and a protective tariff thus appealed powerfully to Dana's sense of Nationalism.

Bound up with the building of a railroad to the Pacific was the problem of disposing of the Western lands. Dana wanted Congress to encourage settlement by dividing them into homesteads of 160 acres to be given free to every citizen who would make certain improvements. He strenuously opposed rewarding ex-soldiers with grants of land as "a great outrage on the rights of the people for the benefit of speculators and land sharks," contending that the soldiers would get neither the land nor its true value before "the fruits would be gathered and devoured in Wall Street and in similar patriotic localities." He also believed that such grants would interfere with a transcontinental railroad. But should the land bounty bill be passed by Congress he urged it be followed immediately by an act setting aside alternate sections for the railroad within five miles on either side, as a source of revenue for its construction. He justified this subsidy by arguing that the land-grants would be advantageous to all and a profitable investment for the government. The only hope of financing such a gigantic undertaking was by using "the public land as a source of capital, coupled with a judicious scheme for the colonizing of the region." During the next twelve years, until the project

³⁷ Wilson, 135.

was guaranteed by Congress in the acts of 1862 and 1864, Dana never ceased to agitate in its behalf. Yet in less than a decade Dana's *Sun* was one of the most merciless critics of railroad corporations grown into mammoth monopolies of greed and corruption.

In November, 1850, there appeared in the *Tribune* an editorial on Free Trade which was echoed and re-echoed in the *Sun* after Dana took it over. It divided all advocates of free trade into two classes: "free-traders by interest and free-traders by theory." The former consisted "mainly of importers, many of them English, French, or German whose business is to bring in and sell the greatest quantity of foreign products. The welfare of the people . . . the development of American resources, are all nothing to them . . . their only philosophy being to make money, according to that antique if not venerable principle, 'each for himself and the devil take the hindmost.'" They were not only sordidly selfish but alien in blood and un-American in their pursuits. No true American would want to be classed with them or read "their organ [which] is the *Journal of Commerce*." The Free-Traders by theory were misguided idealists, believing "that their practical application must result in good." From this and other editorials it is obvious that Dana objected to the theory of free trade primarily because, in his opinion, it was utterly impractical. The *Tribune* declared in 1855, in a style that was to become familiar to *Sun* readers, "We are Free-Traders, but not of the school of Calhoun, Jeff Davis, Franklin Pierce, and the *National Era*. We are Free-Traders just as we believe in the millennium."³⁸

The slavery agitation was rapidly becoming crucial. Here was an issue which fired both Dana's humanitarianism and nationalism. Not only were human rights at stake but the very existence of the nation. This later aspect of the slavery controversy was not generally realized in the beginning. Either it was believed the Southern States would not secede, or many people, Greeley among them, took the position that secession might be the best way of settling the slavery issue between the North and South. It was the evil of the institution that first engaged Dana's attention. To him slavery was not only immoral but an obstacle to social and economic progress. He hated it for its stupidity as much as for its inhumanity. When the merchants of Virginia issued an address objecting to the training of Negroes for trades, Dana scoffed at their naïve assumption "that a community composed of a servile class on the one hand, and

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 140.

a free class on the other, can be happy, prosperous, and progressive," ridiculing "their talk about equity, justice, the destruction of monopolies and pure principles of republicanism, they are all ready to tolerate and even help perpetuate this most monstrous of monopolies, the worst form of injustice, this utmost of tyrannies."³⁹

Dana was not an Abolitionist, because he was by nature opposed to fanaticism in any cause. Furthermore, under the Constitution, a sacred document in Dana's eyes, the people of the South were entitled to their slaves. But to the extension of slavery into free territory Dana and all Free-Soilers were unalterably opposed. Indeed his feelings were so intense as to modify his enthusiasm for Manifest Destiny. Thus we find the *Tribune*, although favorable to Cuban independence, opposing the agitation in the South for the annexation of Cuba, Mexico, and Central America. On the other hand, the annexation of Canada was encouraged for it would come into the union as a free area.

After 1854 Dana and Greeley devoted the *Tribune* to saving Kansas and Nebraska from the blight of slavery. The interest formerly directed to revolutions and experiments in behalf of human rights was now concentrated upon preserving freedom in the Territories. The doctrine of popular sovereignty was regarded as a trick and fraud, and all those who supported it "as deadly enemies, not merely to Kansas and to the Republican party, but to the principles of American independence—the inalienable rights of man!" The constitutional resistance to slavery was to triumph by wresting the government at Washington from the slavery-tainted Democrats and putting it into the hands of the Republican party. This was the position taken by the *Tribune* from the moment it abandoned the Whig party and espoused Republicanism. Greeley and Dana helped in the organization of the new party, and the *Tribune* was its chief spokesman.

Participation in the free-soil movement proved invaluable to Dana as future editor of the *Sun* by bringing him into personal contact with rising men in the Republican party, including Seward, Chase, Fessenden, Sumner, and Henry Wilson. Likewise it brought him into direct conflict with leading Democrats both North and South. Slavery was attacked through its supporters, a technique characteristic of the *Sun* later in dealing with the issues of the Grant-Hayes-Cleveland era. Every discreditable aspect of slavery was emphasized at the expense of Benjamin,

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 112–113.

Toombs, Davis, Slidell, Douglas and Breckenridge. Portrayals bearing Dana's subtle touch effectively pointed out the political and economic evils of slavery.

The apparent partiality shown the slave-interests by the President and the Supreme Court impressed upon Dana, as well as the country at large, the primary importance of Congress. This feeling was reflected after 1867 in the *Sun's* attitude toward the executive and judicial branches of the Government during the stormy days of Reconstruction. But despite the threat of secession, throughout the decade preceding the Civil War, Dana manifested little alarm. The idea that one State, or a handful of States, would care to sacrifice the advantages of the Union to the extension of slavery seemed preposterous. In June, 1851, while Greeley was abroad, Dana asked, "What can South Carolina expect to do in the way of secession on her own account?"⁴⁰

That the virus might spread evidently did not occur to him. Possibly he hoped, in true *Sun* fashion, to ridicule what he did not like out of existence. The only references to the subject made in the *Tribune* from then on can be attributed to Greeley. Dana's way of treating this issue was similar to the method employed by the *Sun* whenever threats of civil war were heard during the impeachment of Johnson, military reconstruction, and the Hayes-Tilden controversy. The *Sun's* policy was either to ignore the disturbance altogether, or to assure its readers that the crisis did not exist, or to focus their attention upon other matters with the plea that they were vastly more important. Why the *Sun*, which appeared to flourish on sensationalism and strife, assumed this role can only be a matter of conjecture.

Greeley was not opposed to secession in principle. To the very end he preferred it to the extension of slavery or to war. In a number of editorials he took the position that if the South cared to secede from the Union she had the right to do so—"Erring sisters, depart in peace!" In fact, he preferred a nation of twenty million free inhabitants to one of thirty million, a sixth of whom were slaves.

It is probable that Greeley's attitude toward secession prevented Dana from expressing his own feelings on the subject. He, too, hated war and slavery but he abhorred secession more than either. Nor did he for a moment believe that the Southern States had the right to secede. To him the Union was not only indissoluble but indestructible; this might be

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 112.

defined as the essence of his nationalism. In June, 1852, he delivered a lecture at Chicago in which he dismissed the idea of emancipation through violence as chimerical, declaring with confidence: "The United States will extinguish slavery before slavery can begin to extinguish the United States."⁴¹

During the three months in which the secession movement came to a head, the *Tribune* made a supreme effort to warn the South against the fatal step and to persuade the North "to stand to our principles; but not to our armies," even in the event of secession. Beyond doubt these particular editorials expressed Greeley's feelings. But once Fort Sumter was fired upon and Lincoln had called for volunteers, Dana believed there was no choice, and with all the eloquence he possessed he consecrated the *Tribune* to preserving "the territorial integrity and the political unity of the nation."

By the end of June 1861 the *Tribune's* battle cry of "*Forward to Richmond*," reiterated almost daily, had become a national slogan which was kept up until the defeat of the Union army at Bull Run brought it into disrepute. It was for years supposed that it was Dana's phrase.⁴² This was not so, but he probably caused its reiteration.

This misfortune did not produce an open rupture between Greeley and Dana, but their editorials indicated a growing difference in attitude toward the war.⁴³ Greeley wanted peace and some form of emancipation at the first moment, and to attain both would have been willing to end the war on mild terms. From the first shot Dana wanted to fight until the heresy of secession had been completely stamped out. To him peace without victory would have been a lasting humiliation; and in August he declared:

. . . The only hope of the South, did they but know it, is in their defeat. For the North, defeat, even though only the qualified disaster that comes through

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 116. According to Wilson the manuscript of this address was in his possession at the time he wrote the biography of Dana.

⁴² When the disaster overtook the national army, Greeley made haste to declare, "I wish to be distinctly understood as not seeking to be relieved from any responsibility for urging the advance of the Union Army in Virginia, though the precise phrase, 'Forward to Richmond' was not mine, and I would have preferred not to reiterate it. . . . Henceforth I bar all criticism from these columns on army movements . . . Now let the wolves howl on! I do not believe they can goad me into another personal notice. . . ." *Tribune*, July 25, 1861.

⁴³ Wilson, 170-171; see also Peck, Harry Thurston, *Twenty Years of the Republic*, 258. Peck says, "A violent dispute with Horace Greeley over the latter's unfortunate 'On to Richmond' editorial led to Dana's retirement from the *Tribune* in 1862."

compromise and diplomacy, is remediless destruction preceded by years of bitterest shame.⁴⁴

Such divergence was bound to end in a parting of the ways. The personal relations of the two men, according to Dana, remained as cordial as ever. But on March 27, 1862, Greeley asked for Dana's resignation. Dana wrote many years later:

Mr. Greeley never gave a reason for dismissing me, nor did I ever ask for one. I know, though, that the real explanation was that while he was for peace I was for war, and that as long as I stayed on the *Tribune* there was a spirit there which was not his spirit—that he did not like.⁴⁵

Shortly after the rupture Dana wrote that Greeley had notified the trustees of the *Tribune* that one or the other of them must go. He stated that when he asked for an explanation Greeley refused to give one, merely saying it was "a damned lie" and sending "a verbal message" for him "to remain as a writer of editorials":

. . . but [he] has never been near me since to meet the "damned lie" in person, nor written one word on the subject. I conclude, accordingly, that he is glad to have me out, and that he really set on foot the secret cabal by which it was accomplished. And as soon as I get my pay for my shares (ten thousand dollars less than I could have got for them a year ago), I shall be content.⁴⁶

To what extent this incident explains the *Sun's* future curious attitude toward Greeley is a matter of deduction. That it immediately altered Dana's feeling for the *Tribune* is plain. He wrote, "I have sold all my interest in the property, and shall be slow to connect myself again with any establishment where there are twenty masters."⁴⁷ Dana was now nearly forty-three years old and had a wife and several children to support. He had lost not only a means of livelihood but a career, without warning and with no reason given. With the country engaged in a long and bitter war the future was uncertain. Six months later, despite his services on a special government commission and his work on the *Cyclopedia* with Dr. Ripley, he was still chafing over his rupture with the

⁴⁴ *Tribune*, Aug. 6, 1861.

⁴⁵ Charles A. Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War*, 1-2. It is not known generally that in the preparation of these *Recollections*, Ida M. Tarbell acted as Dana's ghost writer.

⁴⁶ Wilson, 176, Letter to William Henry Huntington, Apr. 11, 1862.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 172, Letter to Robert Carter, Apr. 18, 1862.

Tribune, "For my part I live in the stagnation. Last year I had eight thousand dollars income. Now I have my salary of forty dollars a week, and no great hopes of more." ⁴⁸

But his vigorous and patriotic editorials in the *Tribune* had brought Dana to the attention of leading men in every part of the country. In June, Stanton appointed him on a commission with George S. Boutwell and Judge Stephen T. Logan, to adjust claims against the Government.⁴⁹ Dana formed a high opinion of Boutwell's integrity and ability, while Boutwell was impressed by Dana's business habits and faculties.⁵⁰ But their friendship did not endure. In later years the *Sun* never hesitated to label the policies of Grant's Secretary of the Treasury "financial quackery" and "Darwinism."

Upon completing this service Dana formed a partnership with Roscoe Conkling and George W. Chadwick to buy cotton between the Union and rebel lines. This venture not only laid the basis of a long friendship with Conkling but brought Dana again to the attention of the Administration. Though the cotton trade was profitable, he became convinced that it was strengthening the South by supplying it with food, clothing and ammunition in exchange for cotton. Dana wrote to Stanton, and then hastened to Washington to urge upon Lincoln the importance of restricting the trade.⁵¹ Impressed by his practical sense and disinterested patriotism Lincoln issued a proclamation placing the cotton trade under the Treasury Department, and Stanton forbade the army to have anything more to do with it.⁵² Thus Dana was already a man of influence in the highest council of the land.

Both the President and Stanton were apprehensive about the military operations in the district of West Tennessee, where Grant was beginning his movements against Vicksburg. Conflicting reports about his generalship and charges respecting his personal conduct had raised questions as to his fitness.⁵³ To ascertain the facts would require a man of superior intelligence and consummate tact and Dana was selected. While engaged in this activity, he had unparalleled opportunity to observe more aspects of the war and acquire a better grasp of the entire military

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁴⁹ Dana, *Recollections*, 11-14.

⁵⁰ Boutwell, George S., *Reminiscences of Sixty Years in Public Affairs*, I, 294.

⁵¹ Dana, *Recollections*, 18-20.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 20.

⁵³ Wilson, 198-200.

situation at the North than most men, either on the field or at Washington.

At his first meeting with Grant, Dana was favorably impressed. He considered him a "man of simple manners, straightforward, cordial, and unpretending." ⁵⁴ But the sketches of Grant's staff which he sent Stanton make it difficult to understand the *Sun's* confidence in the General's ability to surround himself with the best of advisers upon being made President. In one of them, he wrote, "Grant's staff is a curious mixture of good, bad, and indifferent. As he is neither an organizer nor a disciplinarian himself, his staff is naturally a mosaic of accidental elements and family friends." ⁵⁵ Here were revealed the qualities which the *Sun* was later to denounce as "nepotism," "degrading tastes," and "pig-headedness."

Likewise, Dana sent a realistic portrayal of Rawlins, Grant's assistant adjutant general. "Grant thinks Rawlins a first-rate adjutant general, but I think this is a mistake. He is too slow, and can't write the English language correctly without a great deal of careful consideration." ⁵⁶ After long association with Rawlins, Dana came to regard him more highly. Despite his slowness, bad grammar, and profanity, the *Sun* lamented his death, saying Grant would have followed a different policy toward Cuba had the "brave," the "generous" Rawlins stayed to guide him.

While Dana was reporting the movements of Rosecrans he had his first meeting with Andrew Johnson. In his recollections of this experience Johnson is described as "short and stocky," with an appearance of "great determination" and "the habit of drinking a good deal." Dana found him "thoroughly in favor of immediate emancipation both as a matter of moral right and as an indispensable condition of the large immigration of industrious freemen which he thought necessary to repeople and regenerate the States." ⁵⁷ Eighteen months later, Dana had a second meeting with Johnson, then Vice-President. He had purposely sought Dana to beseech him to use his "very great influence" to prevent the Administration from "taking the Confederates back without some conditions or without some punishment." ⁵⁸ Dana was repelled by his unctu-

⁵⁴ Dana, *Recollections*, 15.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 72-73.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 105, 106.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 269.

ous swagger and whispered confidences, punctuated with nudges and nods. His description of these two encounters indicated how the *Sun* would regard President Johnson during the last fateful years of his administration.

After the battle of Chickamauga, which Dana regarded as of "deplorable importance," distrust of Rosecrans increased. Dana strongly advised Stanton to make a change in the command and suggested either Grant or Thomas.⁵⁹ He especially urged Grant. As a result, the General was appointed to the command of the "Military Division of the Mississippi" with permission to leave Rosecrans at the head of the Department of the Cumberland, or to assign Thomas to his place.⁶⁰ Grant had asked Stanton's permission to keep Dana with him at Chattanooga. Later he told Dana that in the belief that Rosecrans would not be able to hold Chattanooga, he had decided to substitute Thomas as commander of the Army of the Cumberland.⁶¹ Grant could not have given Dana a stronger proof of his confidence and respect. Thus in a second major decision, Dana's judgment had proved the determining factor.

While at Chattanooga Dana witnessed the battle of Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain and made the acquaintance of Sherman and Sheridan, both of whom he admired intensely. At the invitation of Sheridan he rode through the army and was struck by the demonstrations of affection shown the General by his men. Thus three years later when President Johnson removed Sheridan from command of the Fifth Military District in the South it is not surprising that the *Sun* came out in support of the Congressional bill designed to put the control of the five Reconstruction Commanders directly under General Grant, who was expected to reinstate the popular war hero. But the *Sun's* adoration for Sheridan was turned to vitriol in 1875 by the "brutality" of his "banditti" dispatch.

When Dana was not at the front or discussing plans with Stanton and Halleck as Grant's representative, he remained in Washington, doing the regular work of an Assistant Secretary of War. His duties brought him into daily contact with Lincoln and Stanton and gave him an opportunity to become well acquainted with Chase, Seward, and other members of the Cabinet. We can readily understand his loyalty to Stanton

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 131.

during the quarrel with President Johnson, for as a War Secretary Dana regarded him "almost superhuman." He was equally impressed with Stanton's deep religious feeling and grasp of history.⁶²

Of Lincoln's Cabinet, Dana considered Seward the first in importance and found him "an interesting man" with "an optimistic temperament" and "the most cultivated and comprehensive intellect in the administration," possessing "what is very rare in a lawyer, a politician, or a statesman—imagination." Although in old age Dana gave as an illustration of Seward's genius the purchase of Alaska, which "demonstrated more than anything else his fixed and never-changing idea that all North America should be united under one government,"⁶³ in 1868 the *Sun* was very skeptical of its value except for "snow and ice."

Part of Dana's routine work lay in supervising the accounts of the War Department, which enabled him to appreciate the staggering cost of war.⁶⁴ Before his eyes he saw the debt increasing by hundreds of thousands daily. It is scarcely to be wondered that his constant refrain in the *Sun* was economy, taxation reform, and reduction of the public debt, and that he cherished a resentment toward the South for forcing this needless expense upon the Nation. Another duty was to make contracts for supplies, a field full of fraud. It was here Dana learned from Watson, the distinguished patent lawyer for the Government, the technique for detecting frauds⁶⁵ which made the *Sun* such a terror to grafters in later years.

During his first stay with the Army of the Potomac he made the acquaintance of General Winfield Scott Hancock, the Democratic nominee for the Presidency in 1880. Dana had the warmest admiration for him as a general. He thought him a "splendid fellow, a brilliant man, as brave as Julius Caesar"⁶⁶ . . . He had seen Hancock in action at Spotsylvania, and after it was over had ridden with Rawlins to the spot where Hancock's men had fought the fiercest—the "Bloody Angle."⁶⁷ The ground was thick with dead and wounded, a sight which Dana never forgot. The *Sun* could be belligerent, but when partisan rivalry or sectional animosity threatened civil war it always called those who fo-

⁶² *Ibid.*, 157-158.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 169.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 161-162.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 162-164.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 190.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 196.

mented such passion "foes" and a "menace" to the country. At Richmond he saw the frightful damage done by fire and the cruel destitution of the inhabitants, a proof that the horrors of war were not confined to the battlefield.

In these days Dana first gained an insight into Negro slavery; and the bravery of the colored troops made a lasting impression on him. He was also shocked by the contrast between the splendid mansions of the owners and the miserable hovels in the Negro quarters.⁶⁸ Undoubtedly this experience formed a partial basis for the position taken by the *Sun* on Negro suffrage and Negro rule in the South.

Following the surrender of Richmond, President Lincoln discussed confidentially with Dana his conditions for the restoration of Virginia.⁶⁹ The editor of the *Sun* thus knew directly from Lincoln what his policy would have been had he lived. But there is little indication that this influenced Dana's policy. During 1868 he supported the drastic Reconstruction program of Congress because he believed Grant's election depended upon this support. After March, 1869, he opposed Grant's Reconstruction policy with equal vigor because he was determined to prevent his re-election in 1872.

When news of Lee's surrender reached Richmond Dana discovered no sentiment but that of submission to the authority of the Union. Dana was aware that Grant's generosity was largely responsible for this attitude on the part of Lee and his men.⁷⁰ At Appomattox, Grant had them at his mercy, and his mercy had been great. Furthermore, Dana knew that Grant himself believed his terms "of greatest importance toward securing a thorough peace and undisturbed submission to the government."⁷¹ No wonder the *Sun* echoed the ringing words of its famous Presidential nominee, "Let us have Peace," and hailed his election in November, 1868, as the turning of a new page in American history.

Before Dana laid down his duties as Assistant Secretary of War two more tasks contributed to his equipment as a public leader. Certain railroads had been taken over by the Government early in the war and put in charge of the War Department. Upon its close it fell to Dana to examine their condition and recommend adjustments with the owners. In almost every instance he found the roads in better condition than when

⁶⁸ O'Brien, Frank M., *The Story of the Sun*, 218.

⁶⁹ Dana, *Recollections*, 267.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 272.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

taken over by the Government.⁷² Although this experience convinced Dana that the Government could run the railroads efficiently, this fact carried little weight with the *Sun* during the seventies and eighties in the controversy over railroad regulation and ownership. Already the Grant Administration had corrupted everything it touched. Why give it the railroads? Nor would their management be any less corrupt under a "Fraudulent President" like Hayes. But the indications are that Adam Smith was more responsible than either Grant or Hayes for the *Sun's* attitude toward the railroad problem.

Shortly after Lincoln's assassination President Johnson issued a proclamation accusing Jefferson Davis of complicity in the plot and offering a reward for his capture. A week later he was incarcerated at Fortress Monroe. Dana was sent to see that every precaution was taken against Davis' escape, and to warn his guards against a possible attempt at suicide. To Wilson, Dana wrote that the prisoner walked "with as haughty and defiant an air as Lucifer, the Son of Morning, bore after he was expelled from Heaven."⁷³ From his reports to Stanton it is plain that he had little sympathy for the man who had helped bring such disaster upon North and South⁷⁴—a sentiment which he carried over into the *Sun*.

When Dana completed his war service he was recognized everywhere as a man of distinction. His influence with Lincoln, Grant, and Stanton was taken for granted. It can safely be said that most of the Presidential candidates, cabinet officers, diplomatic and military officials, and members of Congress of first importance in the next thirty years were men whom Dana had known either in his *Tribune* days or during the war. The war had left him in debt, but he knew it was not necessary to remain poor. He had seen politicians engaged in business and business men engaged in politics, both before and during the war, making large fortunes while they served their country. Now the war was over the adventure of business or politics made a powerful appeal.

Journalism no longer seemed to offer an adequate field. Dana longed, as he advised his friend Wilson to do, "to get into the great battle of the world in some active position."⁷⁵ Therefore, it was with reluctance that he allowed Lyman Trumbull and a group of prominent men in Illinois

⁷² *Ibid.*, 255-260.

⁷³ Wilson, 364.

⁷⁴ Dana, *Recollections*, 284-286.

⁷⁵ Wilson, 377.

to persuade him sometime in May, 1865, to take the editorship of a paper, called the *Republican*, to be founded in Chicago.⁷⁶ Nor would he have yielded had he not seen an opportunity to recoup his fortunes and serve his country, as well as a stepping stone to political position.⁷⁷ After the building which housed the *Republican* was destroyed by fire in September, 1866, Dana returned to New York to examine the possibilities of starting a new paper.⁷⁸

At this time Dana not only adored the hero of Appomattox for his military genius, courage, and modesty, but was jealous lest his glory be diminished by an ill-advised act. While in Washington in December, 1865, he let it be known that he disapproved of the pending Washburne bill⁷⁹ to revive the grade of General of the Armies mainly because he feared that the public would think Grant himself at the bottom of it. He also intimated that had he been present at Lee's surrender Grant's terms would probably have been less generous. Shortly after this Wilson wrote Dana that he "had discovered signs of a change of feeling toward him at General Grant's headquarters."⁸⁰ Dana replied at once maintaining the position he had taken and saying that no one but "a fool" would accuse him of being "unfriendly to the general."⁸¹ Wilson himself believed that the charges of unfriendliness originated with a "set who disliked Dana, and sought this means of neutralizing his influence with Grant."⁸² But it required more than jealous gossip to destroy the friendship of two such men. With the first issue of the *Sun* under Dana the paper was dedicated to the election of Grant as President; and in 1868 Dana collaborated with Wilson in writing a *Life of Grant* to be used as a campaign document.

Dana, who had made and unmade Generals, was to turn with the same acumen to the equally fascinating game of making and unmaking Presidents, and he had every reason to anticipate the same high degree of success. In a period when the country drew largely on its military leaders

⁷⁶ Dana, *Recollections*, 290.

⁷⁷ Wilson, 361-362.

⁷⁸ Publication of the Chicago *Daily Republican* continued until 1872. A complete file of the paper during Dana's editorship can be found in the Newberry Library of Chicago. There are also miscellaneous copies in the Library of Congress, the Wisconsin Historical Society and the library at Alexandria, La.

⁷⁹ Wilson, 373.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 373-374.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 374.

for public service Dana's Civil War acquaintanceships proved invaluable to him as editor of the *Sun*. He had seen many of the nation's heroes in their moments of weakness as well as achievement. His position as personal observer for Lincoln and Stanton had heightened his ability to judge character, to select the significant fact, and to report what he saw and heard in clear, concise, vivid language. His war experiences had also imbued him with a yearning for some field of conspicuous public service in which success meant wealth and power. Not only was Dana admirably equipped to run a newspaper; it is no exaggeration to say that he would have made an excellent diplomatist, cabinet officer, or Congressional leader.

Circumstances forced Dana, for the time being, back into journalism, but it was political recognition he wanted. And when on the eve of his inauguration Grant refused to bestow upon him an office worthy of his abilities, the *Sun* became his compensation.

CHAPTER II

DANA RE-CREATES THE *SUN*

THE emblem which appeared in the *Sun*, January 27, 1868, had undergone a change. An eagle no longer brooded over the bright orb rising behind mountains. Now its beams shone unhampered across the sky. The change symbolized an internal revolution in the little four-page, two-cent daily. Charles A. Dana had purchased the New York *Sun*.

He had not taken this step without thought. After the disaster at Chicago, he concluded that the most logical place for a paper of the kind which he planned was New York City. New York had a million inhabitants, with a million and a quarter more living within twenty-five miles of Union Square. It was predicted that the metropolitan area would have a population of nine millions by the close of the century. It teemed with varied activities. Reformers were carrying on movements for improved education, temperance, the eight-hour day, and woman suffrage. Occasionally a disciple of Marx ranted against class oppression. In Brooklyn, Henry Ward Beecher was the apostle of liberal and humanitarian religion.

The fashionable rich formed a select society with its center on Murray Hill and Fifth Avenue. They dined at Delmonico's, enjoyed the Italian Opera at the Academy of Music or attended performances of Edwin Booth at the Winter Garden Theatre. The Théâtre Français and Steinway Hall also provided cultural entertainment, while those who preferred comic opera and burlesque found diversion at the Fifth Avenue Opera and the beautiful Olympic on Broadway. The poor dwelt in the slums and tenements. Their homes had no proper lighting, heating, or sanitary arrangements. Yet any poor family believed its favorite son might become as rich as August Belmont or Slippery Dick Connolly; and while waiting they depended upon ward politicians for relief. All walked on uncertain sidewalks, littered with filth which polluted the air even on frosty mornings. The movement of traffic was slow. Streets were narrow, and horse cars, hacks, broughams, drays and pedestrians milled about with inadequate police control.

According to the tax books ten men owned one-tenth of the assessed property of the city, an aggregate of fifty million dollars; one of them, William B. Astor, being put down as worth \$16,000,000. Cornelius Vanderbilt controlled three important railroad lines. Vanderbilt, Leonard Jerome, Daniel Drew, Jay Gould and James Fisk, Jr., were powers on Wall Street. Drew and his associates were plundering the Erie Railroad. The Long Island line was a "murder trap." Alexander T. Stewart had completed in 1862 his great new department store which covered one entire block. William M. Tweed was a State Senator and Street Commissioner, already demanding a 15 per cent share on all city bills. Peter Sweeny had recently paid \$60,000 for his position on the Board of Aldermen. Judges sold injunctions and legislators traded or sold their votes.

Horace Greeley was the editor of the *Tribune* while James Gordon Bennett edited the *Herald*. Henry J. Raymond headed the *Times*; Manton Marble, the *World*. The Nestor of the press was William Cullen Bryant of the *Evening Post*. Thurlow Weed edited the *Commercial Advertiser*. Other papers published in 1868 included the *Evening Express*, owned by James and Erastus Brooks; the *Journal of Commerce*, edited by David M. Stone; the *Evening News* by Benjamin Wood; the *Democrat*, by Marcus M. Pomeroy. The principal magazines published in the city were *Putnam's*, *Harper's Monthly*, *Harper's Weekly*, the *New York Ledger*, the *Independent*, and the *Nation*.

Where else could Dana find such a wealth of opportunity? There were many newspapers, but none which reached the public which he had in mind. Whether he would be a social reformer, a leader of progressive opinion, or a successful journalist the opportunity was in this city. Coming East, he interested his friends, most of them Republicans, in starting a new paper. But just as preliminary steps were about to be undertaken, the purchase of the *Sun* was proposed to them and accepted.

It appeared to be a sound investment. Begun in 1833 by Benjamin H. Day as a medium through which to advertise his business, the *Sun* was later owned by Moses Yale Beach. It had a circulation of 50,000–60,000, chiefly among the mechanics and small merchants, and had gained a reputation for independence and honesty. It boasted much advertising, partly of an objectionable sort. As Dana wrote Gen. Wilson, "We pay a large sum for it—\$175,000—but it gives us at once

a large and profitable business. If you have a thousand dollars at leisure you had better invest it in the stock of our company, which is increased to \$350,000 in order to pay for this new acquisition." Of this sum about \$220,000 was invested in real estate, which he felt sure would be productive independent of the paper.¹

A distinguished group stood behind Dana in this venture. Among them were William M. Evarts, a leader of the American bar; Senator Roscoe Conkling and his brother Franklin; Senator Edwin D. Morgan; George Opdyke, a former mayor; and Cyrus W. Field, of Atlantic cable fame.² A list of the original stockholders was given in the fiftieth anniversary issue of the *Sun*. Those not already mentioned included:

Thomas Hitchcock
Isaac W. England
Chas. S. Weyman
Jno. H. Sherwood
M. O. Roberts
Ed. D. Smith
F. A. Palmer
S. B. Chittenden

William H. Webb
A. B. Cornell
Aug. L. Brown
David Dows
John C. Hamilton
Amos R. Eno
Freeman Clarke
Thomas Murphy

F. C. Cowdin
Salem H. Wales
Theron R. Butler
Marshall B. Blake
A. A. Low
Charles E. Butler
Dorman B. Eaton

On the first day of his long career as a leading American editor, Dana announced in an editorial "Prospectus" his plans for the future:

Notice is hereby given that the *Sun* newspaper, with its presses, type, and fixtures, has become the property of an Association represented by the undersigned, and including among its prominent stockholders Mr. M. Y. Beach, recently the exclusive owner of the whole property. It will henceforth be published in the building known for the last half century as Tammany Hall, on the corner of Nassau and Frankfort streets. Its price will remain as heretofore at two cents a copy, or \$6 per annum to mail subscribers. It will be printed in handsome style, on a folio sheet as at present, but it will contain more news and other reading matter than it has hitherto given. . . .

The *Sun* will always have All the News, foreign, domestic, political, social, literary, scientific, and commercial. It will use enterprise and money freely to make the best possible newspaper, *as well as the cheapest*.

It will study condensation, clearness, point and will endeavor to present its daily photograph of the whole world's doings in the most luminous and lively manner.

It will not take as long to read the *Sun* as to read the *London Times* or *Web-*

¹ Wilson, James H., *Life of Charles A. Dana*, 378.

² The *Sun*, Sept. 3, 1883.

ster's Dictionary; but when you have read it, you will know about all that has happened in both hemispheres. . . .

Charles A. Dana
Editor and Manager

In a very short time the success of the new management was indicated by rising circulation. "Professionally I may be called prosperous," Dana wrote William Huntington. "Since I have had the *Sun*, now five months, it has not failed to make money, and its subscription lists steadily increase." In the course of this letter he remarked that he had "revolutionized" the paper.³ The word was accurate. The headlines were now more uniform and regular, although the folio form had been retained. Old English type had replaced Roman in the title head and the columns were widened. He had done more than improve the outward appearance of the journal. His intellectual convictions and cultural interests had rapidly been imparted to its pages. It had a new spirit, too; it was a gaily spunky paper without a trace of modesty. It was independent, determined, whimsical, and in the early days of 1868 and 1869 not yet malicious. Many an editorial ended with the slogan—"The Sun Shines For All—Price Two Cents."

To print a paper of four pages which contained all the news of both hemispheres required "condensation, clearness and point." To make such a paper "luminous and lively" required superior writers. From the first Dana was intensely interested in the organization of his staff. The exchange man, whose duty it was to read other papers through, perhaps to collect a verse for its column of "Poems Worth Reading" or to notice what a paper in Kansas said about the *Sun*, was always on the lookout for an unusual bit of writing. Dana, if struck by it, would write its author, and in the course of time a talented reporter might appear from the West or South, ready to learn journalism according to *Sun* style. This diligent search for suitable men to staff the *Sun* was carried on as long as Dana owned the paper. He could not hire each employee personally, but Chester A. Lord, who became managing editor in 1880 and remained in that position until 1913, selected a large percentage of the staff according to the precedents which Dana established.

In those days, brilliant young men of good family were not expected to choose newspaper careers. Journalism dictated irregular hours and association with people of all types, and provided but a small remuneration.

³ Wilson, 394.

ation. Law or medicine were more dignified as well as better paid professions. But Dana always maintained that there was no calling higher than that of a journalist. In 1868, the *Sun* remarked that law and medicine were crowded. It then continued:

To relieve this rather gloomy prospect several new professions offer themselves to the ambitious, among which are journalism and civil engineering. The former has somewhat declined since the war, but is now as promising a field to a young man as any other. The influence and position of the press are unequalled, and quite as many have been successful in it, in proportion, as in most professions.⁴

Although Dana might have enjoyed a high political office, he always maintained that his position as a leading journalist was far superior to most governmental stations. When the *Cincinnati Enquirer* suggested him for Governor, Dana replied:

The difficulty with this proposition is that Mr. Dana already holds an office that is not compatible with being Governor of New York State, the office, namely, of the editor of the *Sun*. The latter post is infinitely more attractive in power, independence, usefulness and the constant pleasure and satisfaction of its exercise. It would be the wildest folly to resign it for an inferior function.

We make Governors here. . . .⁵

"What a descent it would be!" Dana exclaimed, when considering Col. A. K. McClure as a "brilliant Secretary of State." "The truth is," he continued, "that, except in some immense and unusual patriotic emergency, such as the late civil war afforded, no capable editor can properly accept any public office except that of President. . . ." ⁶

The respect with which he treated his own staff endeared him to them. He valued good work and paid liberally for it. As the fortunes of his newspaper improved, he raised salaries proportionately. Writing in the *North American Review*, Mayo Hazeltine said:

One of Mr. Dana's special titles to the remembrance of his fellow workers in the newspaper calling is the fact that, more than any other man on either side of the Atlantic, he raised their vocation to a level with the legal and medical professions as regards the scale of remuneration. He honored his fellow craftsmen of the pen, and he compelled the world to honor them.⁷

⁴ Apr. 21, 1868.

⁵ Aug. 31, 1882.

⁶ Mar. 1, 1885.

⁷ O'Brien, Frank M., *The Story of the Sun*, 426.

Dana believed the newspaper office was the place to learn journalism. A statement of this conviction was given in the *Sun* in 1869:

As the details of legal practice can be nowhere mastered but in a lawyer's office or in the law courts, so the young journalist, be he ever so well instructed in what he may consider the theory of his profession must serve his apprenticeship in a newspaper office before he can claim to have mastered the art.

Give him a good preliminary education, induce him if possible to write clear and terse English, and imbue him with honor, magnanimity, and courage. Individual talents, tastes, and temperament will then decide whether he is fitted to succeed or fail in his profession.⁸

He put this belief into practice with his young men, diligently teaching them their craft and providing opportunity for advancement when it was merited. So successful was he that in time the *Sun* became a regular training school in which young staff-members were taught, not by rule and precept, but by the example and standard of good writing which they saw about them. The office was managed in a democratic spirit, all the writers occupying a room together and no one assuming an air of superiority. Dana ruled with the vigilance and kindness of a paternal autocrat. He paid particular attention to the development of style in young writers, and was strict concerning their expression of ideas. He did not hesitate to discharge a man for a badly chosen word, although time usually soothed his feelings, or Lord intervened and the culprit was allowed to remain. He was quick to praise when praise was warranted. Although Dana proved relentless to his enemies, the staff knew the warmth of his friendship. If in trouble with the police, or grappling with a personal problem of unusual dimensions, each knew he possessed a powerful friend. The result of his respect for the profession was a strong spirit of comradeship in his staff. Charles Rosebault, who worked under Dana, has described it as a brotherhood who "gloried in each other's success and cherished to their last days the golden memories of their association."⁹ Will Irwin wrote in the *American Magazine* in 1909 that the "gentlemen journalists" of the *Sun* staff were known all over the country. "This organization with its peculiar democracy, its freedom, and its good will of man to man, is probably the most admirable thing about the New York *Sun*." It had been compared to a club, but was more like a college, he said. "It has the same

⁸ Sept. 7, 1869.

⁹ *When Dana was The Sun*, 269.

reverence for tradition, the same general good will, the same cohesion of effort, and the same voluntary acceptance of a certain set of ideals. 'Once a *Sun* man, always a *Sun* man, wherever you go.'"¹⁰

The *Sun* was also called, in no disparaging sense, "the graveyard of reputations."¹¹ This was not because many an employee did not go out into the world and attain distinction; nor because working in the *Sun* office was not an open-sesame to other newspaper positions. It was rather a comment on the impersonal character of the *Sun*. In those days the identity of authors was a guarded secret. Day after day a staff member might write brilliant editorials or news articles only to have his achievement referred to in two words: "Dana says." Some men dreamed of an editorial policy possessing a keener social conscience and less guided by personal friendships and enmities,¹² but no matter, they conformed to the *Sun's* point of view. Individuality in a writer was never crushed, distinctive style was cherished, but Dana chose and moulded the staff to share his own outlook on life, until no reader could tell which article was the product of Dana's pen. Occasionally Dana dictated when he felt called upon to do so. When he did it was trenchant and effective writing. But it was not different in spirit from other articles on his page, nor superior in style.

No book on the *Sun* is complete without a glance at those who composed its staff. These colorful personalities are given extensive descriptions in Edward P. Mitchell's *Memoirs of an Editor*, Frank M. O'Brien's *The Story of The Sun* and Charles J. Rosebault's more recent book, *When Dana was The Sun*. Excerpts taken from the files of thirty years and reproduced in this book are the product of their pens; the policies and program were determined by the editor. It was one of Dana's greatest achievements that he possessed the ability to harmonize these individuals of varied talents into a homogeneous and "happy family." On his staff were multimillionaires and one Communist; lawyers and piscatorial experts; poets and society men. There were former diplomats and future Congressmen. It would be impossible to detail their different aptitudes. Under Dana they were woven into a single fabric which came forth daily as the *Sun*.

In the early years the outstanding editorial writer and man closest

¹⁰ Jan. 1909.

¹¹ Personal Interviews with Mrs. Edward P. Mitchell.

¹² Personal Interviews with a former Secretary in the *Sun* office.

to Dana was William O. Bartlett. He and Dana had met through Secretary Stanton and become warm friends previous to the purchase of the *Sun*. Bartlett had been employed in the offices of the *Evening Post*, *Herald*, and *Tribune*. In 1868 he began work on the *Sun* and continued until his death thirteen years later. He was a brilliant lawyer as well as a powerful writer. He had a knack for phrasemaking, and many of the quips that were long quoted from the *Sun* had rolled off his pen. It was he who made the damaging reference to Hancock's weight in the campaign of 1880, which Mitchell later described as "a stroke of playfulness." Bartlett also advised Hancock "to return to the original goose" the quill that penned the opinion that tariff was a local issue.¹³ "No King, No Clown to Rule This Town" was Bartlett's slogan, while Willard Bartlett, his son, first suggested the famous "office cat." Bartlett earned for the *Sun* warm admiration and intense hatred.

Aside from these qualities of brilliance and humor, there is no explanation of the invincible friendship which developed between Dana and Bartlett. It has been spoken of as a "mystery." More likely it is an index to Dana's character. He probably enjoyed Bartlett for himself and admired him for his ability. Certainly Bartlett exercised privileges that no other individual in the office would have dared to assume. In the younger days of transcendental dreams Dana had written poetry, some of which had been printed. The "Via Sacra," one of these, ended with the couplet:

But oh! what is it to imperial Jove
That this poor world refuses all his love?

Mitchell tells us that Bartlett, whose "status exempted him from discipline, found a certain pleasure, half humorously, half affectionately malicious, in inserting extracts from these early effusions in leading articles when the editor's back was turned." So Dana might read in his own paper the next morning:

The White House evidently believes that the gods on high are in anguish over its insolent defiance of moral principle, "but Oh!" as the poet has beautifully expressed it,

. . . "what boots it to imperial Jove
that one poor mortal scorns his mighty love?"¹⁴

¹³ Mitchell, Edward P., *Memoirs of an Editor*, 215.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 266.

This was certainly an acid test of friendship.

Bartlett also took a keen interest in the *Sun's* attitude toward members of the legal profession. Again and again judges who did not merit abuse were labeled "ignoramuses" and "tyrants" by the *Sun*; while such men as Judge George Barnard were models of perfection. To an outsider as well as to those in the *Sun* office, it appeared that he was using his position to promote himself as a lawyer.¹⁵ *The Biter Bit, or the Robert Macaire of Journalism*, a pamphlet inspired by the *Sun's* attitude toward Grant and containing many unscrupulous charges, asserted: "He [Bartlett] spends most of his time writing puffs for all the Judges who throw at him and his son, Willard, also a lawyer, the fat bones of the courts, such as refereeships, receiverships, and street openings from which Bartlett & Co. have already amassed a fortune." This accusation was repeated in the *New York Times* and brought an angry reply from Bartlett:

In your journal of this day, you copy from an anonymous pamphlet a paragraph which . . . amounts to a charge . . . that I have been the recipient of bribes to influence the course of the *New York Sun*. . . .

No person, apart from the proprietor of the paper, ever paid me a thousandth part of a mill for any article in the *Sun*. I never write an article or a line which I am not ready to put my name to, and to hold myself fully and solely responsible for. . . .

While I have never sought "influence"—in the sense in which it is used—with judges, I have sought acquaintances. . . . I do not refer to living Judges only; but I have endeavored to make myself familiar with Coke, and Holt, and Hale and Blackstone.¹⁶

The nature of this pamphlet is such that no weight can be attached to its accusation. But it is hard to believe that the *Sun's* frequently perverse opinions on the judiciary, of which we have evidence in the paper's files, were a matter of pure caprice on Dana's part. If they were, it was a most improper indulgence for a journalist of such talent.

Dana's friendship for William O. Bartlett was never broken. He was legal adviser to the *Sun*, and in time Bartlett & Company took offices in the same building. The *Times* sneeringly said it was "convenient." The friendship was inherited by Willard Bartlett, later Chief Judge of the New York State Court of Appeals. He had attended New York

¹⁵ Rosebault, Charles J, *When Dana was The Sun*, 177.

¹⁶ Feb. 10, 1871.

University Law School with Elihu Root, and later Root and Bartlett handled the legal affairs for the *Sun*. In the seventies, for a short time, young Bartlett was dramatic critic for the paper. Root frequently went to the theater with him and together, after the performance, they would tear the play to pieces over a glass of beer, with the result that many of his criticisms appeared in Bartlett's reviews in the *Sun* next day. Dana's friendship with the Bartletts was to cost him dear when the *Sun* refused to support Grover Cleveland. But the editor was capable both of reckless friendships and reckless hatreds. And he seemed to be as blind to the faults of those he loved as he was impervious to the virtues of his enemies.

A happier connection of Dana's was that with Edward P. Mitchell, although it never possessed the same intimacy as that with Bartlett. Mitchell's *Memoirs* suggest that his value as a journalist lay chiefly in his talent for writing a balanced prose. His editorials in the *Sun*, while often displaying the humor of the satirist, were never burdened with mordant wit. He was sometimes spoken of as the backbone of the editorial page.¹⁷

Mitchell first came upon the *Sun* in the exchanges which he received at the Lewiston *Journal* in Maine. He was captivated by it, for it seemed to him that he had discovered something new and admirable in journalism. He decided to try his chances and submitted an article. It was in the *Sun* style, being a personal attack upon a gentleman in Cincinnati who had been so unlucky as to offend Dana. In later years Mitchell described it as "childish," but he was delighted to behold it prominently placed on the editorial page. Mitchell joined the paper in 1875 and remained until after Dana's death. His genius, admired and respected by Dana and fostered in the congenial atmosphere of the *Sun* office, never lost the individuality of his own mind and spirit. Long association with Dana and deep admiration of his unerring literary taste and critical ability influenced Mitchell as he in turn, for similar reasons, influenced those who have followed him as editor of the *Sun*. But in the process each man's genius retained its distinctive characteristics.

According to O'Brien, "Mr. Mitchell absorbed his chief's lifetime belief that the range of public interest was infinite."¹⁸ They were found

¹⁷ *The American Magazine*, Jan., 1909.

¹⁸ *The Story of The Sun*, 406.

in agreement "not only upon the subject of what the reader wishes, but upon the necessity for preservation in newspapers, as well as in books, of the ideal of language."¹⁹ He stands with Dana "among the makers of the *Sun* who best knew the paper and the intellectual demands of its readers."²⁰

When Mitchell joined the *Sun* he found a veteran who is now remembered as the husband of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. Henry B. Stanton must be called an Independent, for his allegiance had been given in turn to the Democrats, Free-Soilers, Republicans, and Democrats again. Like his wife, he was an earnest reformer. In 1840 he and Mrs. Stanton went to Europe to arouse sentiment for the anti-slavery cause. During those turbulent days he was mobbed—it is said—at least two hundred times, but he always managed to escape, and preserved enough energy to serve some fifteen years on the *Sun* staff. He was efficient at book reviews, conversant with the law, and had a full knowledge of politics having spoken in sixteen Presidential campaigns. It is easy to imagine that the *Sun's* erudite discourses on political history and the intricacies of former Presidential elections were penned by him.

In striking contrast was Francis P. Church, who cared not a whit for politics of any kind. To Church goes the credit for having written the most popular editorial of his day and of many days since his death in 1906. When it was suggested that he reply to a little girl who wrote, "Please tell me the truth; is there a Santa Claus?" he belittled the suggestion, then with an air of resignation turned and wrote the article which has since been reprinted millions of times.²¹ When he died the *Sun* broke its rule of anonymity and disclosed that he was the author.

Another of this galaxy was James S. Pike, formerly Washington correspondent for the *Tribune* and Minister to the Netherlands. He and Dana were old friends; and Pike followed Dana to the *Sun*. He wrote several books—*First Blows of the Civil War*; *The Restoration of the Currency*; *The Financial Crisis*; *Horace Greeley in 1872* and *The Prostrate State*—titles which attest his wide range of interests. A second editorial writer was General Fitz-Henry Warren, credited with having invented the unfortunate slogan "Forward to Richmond." In 1869 he was appointed Minister to Guatemala. He came to the *Sun* two years

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 407.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 427.

²¹ Mitchell, 112.

later and remained until 1876.

Less conspicuous but even more important to Dana was Mayo W. Hazeltine. He had graduated in arts and law at Harvard and later studied at Cambridge University, England. He traveled in Europe, particularly in Spain, and all that he read or observed he stored in his memory. His specialties were editorials on international politics and prodigious book reviews which filled an entire page of the *Sunday Sun*. His style and erudition lent the newspaper literary prestige, while his reviews were considered compulsory reading for those who wished to keep abreast of literary trends. Joining the *Sun* in 1878, he remained literary editor until his death in 1909.

Contemporaneous with Hazeltine was John Swinton, a distinguished Communist and labor agitator. Mitchell tells us, and we can readily believe, that he made little impression on the paper and none on its policies.²² He earned his living during the day by writing *Sun* editorials; but in the evening he harangued crowds from a soap box, often denouncing Dana as one of the props of capitalism, for whom he prophesied swift retribution with the success of the revolution. Dana rather enjoyed the situation, and Swinton would inform him the morning after some particularly ferocious attack that he had certainly given him the "dickens" the night before.²³

Swinton had previously worked on the *Times* under Henry J. Raymond, taking sole charge of the paper during the editor's absence. He had been active in the Free Soil controversy, and wrote the "Eulogy of Henry J. Raymond" and "An Oration on John Brown." He was adept at short, brilliant paragraphs, and an expert on Central American affairs. There was a place for him on the *Sun* despite his radicalism; and his own articles, written in magazines of that day, are evidence that he enjoyed his work under Dana. He treasured a note from the editor running thus: "It seems to me that Dr. McKim's view of hell might be interesting as a subject of a Sunday leader. P.S.: Hell is not enough thought of." In his opinion, Dana was a model editor:

I never knew an instance in which he asked any man on his staff to write otherwise than he thought, or to palter with his conscience, or to compromise

²² *Ibid.*, 225.

²³ O'Brien, 260.

in the matter of honor. He despised the scribbling flunkey, the parasite whose life or conduct was governed by subserviency.²⁴

Two other editorial writers who deserve mention were Edward M. Kingsbury and Napoleon Leon Thieblin. The former was a Harvard man possessed of an exquisite humor, fine wit, and broad literary appreciation. He was particularly effective in brief informal essays. Thieblin was of French blood although born in Russia. He won a reputation in Europe as a writer for the *Pall Mall Gazette* under the pen name of "Azamet Batuk." A versatile man, he was an accomplished critic of the drama, music, and art, not to mention an interest in foreign politics and the theory and practice of speculative finance.

The author of the "Mathew Marshall" column, which appeared every Monday and accounted for a special circulation, was Thomas Hitchcock. He was a stockholder and treasurer of the *Sun* company. Rosebault speaks of him as the most profound writer on finance ever known to journalism.²⁵ He was also adept as a financier, and quickly accumulated a fortune. His interest in social life made it fitting that he should also supervise the column dealing with fashionable activities. A queer combination—he took his meals at a dairy lunch and paid willingly the exorbitant expenses of two polo-playing sons. He wrote a "Child's Catechism" of Swedenborgianism and a translation of Edward Van Hartmann's *Die Religion des Geistes*. He also composed a strange volume on the *Unhappy Loves of Men of Genius*, but rejected most of the names suggested by his friends on the ground that they were neither unhappy nor geniuses. It was to Hitchcock that Sheriff Jimmy O'Brien submitted the Tweed Ring accounts and documents. Dana was away at that time, and Hitchcock would not assume the responsibility.²⁶ Evidently he had no great interest in news scoops. Or was William Bartlett, later counsel for Tweed, again exerting his influence? It would have been difficult to uphold the innocence of Judge Cardozo and Judge Barnard, intimately connected with the Tweed Ring, and at the same time expose its rascalities. The *New York Times* got the papers and won the fame of exposing the thieves to the public.

Dana's first managing editor, Amos J. Cummings, was an accom-

²⁴ *The Chautauquan*, Mar. 1898.

²⁵ *When Dana was The Sun*, 168.

²⁶ Mitchell, 220.

plished newspaper man with an unfortunate predilection for profanity. In earlier days he had worked on the *Tribune* where the following order ²⁷ issued by John Russell Young brought a tart reply and a rupture of relations with that paper:

Order No. 756—There is too much profanity in this office.

Order No. 757—Hereafter the political reporter must have his copy in at 10:30 P. M.

The answer:

Order No. 1234567—Everybody knows—well that I get most of the political news out of the *Albany Journal*, and everybody knows ——— well that the *Journal* doesn't get here until eleven o'clock at night, and anybody who knows anything knows ——— well that asking me to get stuff up at half past ten is like asking a man to sit on a window sill and dance on the roof at the same time.

Cummings

This possibly accounts for the abuse which Young received in the columns of the *Sun*. Certainly Dana had had no prejudice against Young. As late as June 8, 1868, he had written a friendly letter suggesting that Young sell his Washington news to the *Sun*. "We will write them over using nothing but the facts," he said. "As there is no competition between the *Tribune* and the *Sun*, I don't see why such an arrangement would not be advantageous to both." ²⁸ But in 1869 Young was labeled a "Sneak News Thief." If Cummings was not responsible at least he must have enjoyed it immensely. In spite of his faults of temper, Cummings had extraordinary talent. He edited, criticized, and corrected copy with an unerring hand; he devised news scoops which outdistanced other papers. He was not indifferent to the important, but he was also sensitive to the trivial. It was he according to Bleyer who "developed the 'human-interest' method of newswriting among the reporters of the *Sun*." ²⁹ In time it chafed him to sit at the desk while the world of happenings, funny and pathetic, stirring and drab, went on not far distant from Printing House Square. He was an excellent reporter, adept at interviews, satire, and interpretation, with a special flair for chronicling murders. Much of the *Sun*'s rapid rise in circulation was due to this

²⁷ O'Brien, 266.

²⁸ John Russell Young, MSS. Collection, Library of Congress.

²⁹ Bleyer, W. G., *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism*, 298.

rough but talented writer.³⁰

Of no less value to Dana was John B. Wood, who also came from the *Tribune*. His contribution to a four-page paper was a remarkable instinct for deleting all superfluous words. In some instances the words ran to several columns, but Dana had promised that the *Sun* would "study clearness, condensation and point," and "Doc" Wood put that principle into practice.

Selah Merrill Clarke, night city editor, came to the paper in 1881. He executed headlines with a touch of genius. They were concise, accurate, with an exceptional literary flavor. "Boss" Clarke, as he was familiarly known, pretended to no talent as a reporter, but he was a good judge of news value and its presentation. In addition, he possessed such an uncanny memory that he could tell offhand the exact position and aspect of buildings and houses throughout the city. On many occasions he demonstrated an accurate knowledge of news printed in the *Sun* years before. Other newspapers made innumerable, fruitless attempts to obtain his services. One paper even proposed to triple the highest salary which the *Sun* would pay him, "but Clarke merely grunted and went on copy reading."³¹

Although many who gave ably of their time and talent are not mentioned here, one other must be included. His influence was perhaps mightier than that of the elder Bartlett, and by some was considered sinister. This was William Mackay Laffan, who came to the *Sun* staff in 1877. Time has effaced much which would shed light on his character; while his own reluctance to appear before the public adds to his obscurity. It is certain he was composed of as many antitheses, and as many good and bad qualities, as Dana himself.

Laffan was a native of Ireland, born in Dublin and educated at Trinity College and St. Cecilia's School of Medicine. After his arrival in this country he was city editor of the San Francisco *Chronicle*, and then managing editor of the San Francisco *Bulletin*. Shortly afterward he became owner of both the *Daily Bulletin* and the *Sunday Bulletin* in Baltimore. For a time he acted as passenger agent of the Long Island Railroad, which accounted for his subsequent interest in railroads. So far no employment had entirely satisfied him. In the late seventies he appeared at the *Sun*, offending the staff by his unpleasant vacuous stare and af-

³⁰ Rosebault, 167.

³¹ *The American Magazine*, Jan. 1909.

fectionation of full dress for evening wear. It was learned that he was the new dramatic critic. Then successively he was a general writer on art subjects, business adviser, publisher, general manager, and finally proprietor. He fast became Dana's close friend, and was accorded the hitherto undreamed-of privilege of walking into the private office unannounced and without knocking. Their private lunches, alone with the office cat, were an institution upon which the staff looked with wonder—some with regret.

From the first Laffan's ability as a writer was unquestionable. Will Irwin described him as a "pugnacious Irishman whose words carry darts," best known for his short, sarcastic editorials and a fighting capacity which made newspapers dread to cross swords with the *Sun*.³² Although he was not incapable of genial humor, he possessed a wit which could be unforgivably cruel. As dramatic critic he wrote short, pithy notices, bitter if warranted, even to the point of smart unkindness. As his favor with the editor increased he came to supervise departments with which he had no official connection, and in all his decisions Dana supported him. It came to be understood that in matters of politics and finance affecting the paper Laffan must be taken into consideration.

Laffan had diversified interests. Lawyers and politicians sought his practical advice, while he was the darling of multi-millionaires. He was on friendly terms with Henry Walters and J. P. Morgan, daily visiting the latter's office. It may have been that the *Sun* which accused Cleveland of selling bonds illegally to meet the expenses of the government was supporting the financier rather than the President at the time of the Morgan bond issue. At any rate, if Laffan was the darling of the capitalists, the capitalists became increasingly the darlings of the *Sun*; while the working men over whom the *Sun* had once waxed eloquent determined upon a boycott against the paper, directed by their Central Labor Union.³³ The method by which Laffan gained the confidence of the great financiers and railroad magnates was simple. His love and knowledge of the arts were great, while his opinion on the authenticity of rare objects was desirable. He was conversant with Oriental ceramics, particularly porcelains of the kind which Dana collected. Not only was his knowledge profound, but he himself was an artist. He painted in oils and water color, modeled in clay, and was dexterous with pencil, dry

³² *The American Magazine*, Jan. 1909.

³³ *The Sun*, Aug. 30, 1883.

point and etching needle. He and Thomas B. Clarke compiled a monumental catalogue of the Morgan Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Laffan also edited a book on "Oriental Porcelain," and was the author of "American Wood Engravers." His wealthy friends trusted him implicitly in art matters, and on occasion he was commissioned to spend millions on collections abroad. There was a phrase, "Laffan's staff of multi-millionaires," employed by those who did not understand his connections.³⁴ Laffan was even more shrewd than the proverbial dealer, both in his own transactions and in those unselfishly undertaken in the interest of others.

In addition to his office staff of superb journalists, Dana had an imposing list of outside contributors. He never made the mistake of refusing an article merely because its author was yet unrecognized in literary circles. He read manuscripts personally, accepted them or not according to their worth, commenting with blue pencil either on their merit or demerit for the benefit of the author. Once when a prominent clergyman attempted to prepare a manuscript in "*Sun*" style, Dana rejected it with this marginal note: "This is too damned wicked."³⁵

The most significant poet of the day though still not recognized as such by the American public, was Walt Whitman. When *Leaves of Grass* first appeared, in 1855, it had shocked, alarmed, startled and, on the whole, displeased the country. Some pronounced it lewd, others said it was not poetry.³⁶ Upon the publication of the fifth edition, in 1871, the *Sun* paid him the tribute which Norton, Thoreau and Burroughs had dared to bestow many years earlier and which Tennyson, Browning, and Matthew Arnold had already extended from across the sea:

. . . among poets themselves he will not fail of due recognition; and the greater the poet the more cordial will be his admiration for the vigorous and genuine son of the soil.

This is a new and large sort of thing, no doubt of it. We do not pretend that it has the soft sentimentalities which constitute the charm of common verse; but it has other greater qualities, which ought to render it immortal when the world of common verse is forgotten.³⁷

³⁴ Mitchell, 352.

³⁵ O'Brien, 246.

³⁶ A notable exception to the ridicule and disgust heaped upon *Leaves of Grass* was Ralph Waldo Emerson. His letter to Whitman, written July 21, 1855, calling it "the most extraordinary piece of wit and wisdom that America has yet contributed" was eventually published in the New York *Tribune* at the request of Charles A. Dana, then its managing editor. See Bucke, Richard Maurice, M.D., *Walt Whitman*, 138-139.

³⁷ Sept. 11, 1871.

When ten years later a reputable firm published an unexpurgated edition of *Leaves of Grass* the *Sun's* recognition³⁸ was distinctly encouraging to Walt Whitman. He wrote a note of appreciation asking that it be shown to E. P. M., the initials signed to the review. In time he became a contributor.

Another of the *Sun's* poets was Eugene Field, whom Dana met on a trip to Denver in 1882. Field was an artist of sensitivity but he could be cruel. For instance, he would unblushingly credit verses of his own to the most unlikely persons. An erudite lawyer of great dignity, or a prominent spiritualist medium might awaken one morning to discover his signature under a witty verse which he had never previously beheld. Field did not hesitate to make his close friends the butt of a practical joke. He was the instigator of a campaign against the estimable Rose Cleveland, President Cleveland's sister, who was employed as a writer for *Literary Life*. That "delectable mush bucket," as Field called it, utilized Miss Cleveland for advertising purposes, although her ability was doubtful. Field's remorseless persecution led to the retirement of the editor and eventually the demise of the magazine. Dana must have enjoyed Field. He took part in the crusade against Miss Cleveland, devoting columns of the *Sun* to the "deviltry." Field celebrated Dana in prose and poem. His verses, "The Man Who Worked with Dana on the New York Sun," are famous in newspaper circles. "Cy and I," equally complimentary, hung in manuscript calligraphy on the wall of Dana's room for many years.³⁹

"Solitude," written by Ella Wheeler, then unknown, was directed to the *Sun* office and accepted. Thus, the lines "Laugh and the world laughs with you, weep and you weep alone," first appeared in Dana's paper. H. C. Bunner, editor of *Puck*, was a contributor of verse. So too were John Kendrick Bangs, Edgar Fawcett, Cy Warman, George Catlin, Joaquin Miller, and others who found the *Sun* friendly to their literary efforts.

An equally imposing list of novelists and short story writers published their work in the *Sun*. Among them Henry James, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Bret Harte were most prominent. Dana originated the first literary syndicate, by which the expense of purchasing the best fiction

³⁸ Nov. 19, 1881; Mitchell, 270-271.

³⁹ Mitchell, 144-145.

was shared with papers in other parts of the country.⁴⁰ By this clever arrangement, in common use now, much was obtained that otherwise would have been too expensive. Among the stories first printed in the *Sun* were Kipling's "The Light that Failed," Bret Harte's "Thankful Blossoms," Stevenson's "The Treasure of Franchard," "The Sire de Male-troit's Door," and many South Sea letters. In addition Mitchell contributed many ingenious tales.⁴¹

From the first Dana was opposed to advertising. He believed in keeping the *Sun* small, and for a long time it never exceeded the original four pages. By restricting advertising and eliminating verbiage, he intended to present all the news as well as discussions of literary and political importance. He wanted the paper to be independent of business control and impervious to the demands of politicians. The *Sun* aimed at a large enough circulation to yield dividends, and looked forward to the day when it would reject more advertisements than it accepted and allot those which it printed to definite spacing in accordance with the demands of public interest. "Newspapers," it said, "if they are worth the taking, really resent the encroachment of advertisers on their space, which they could readily fill with reading matter of much more general interest than business announcements. . . . The four pages of the *Sun* are really needed by us for the presentation of the news of the day . . . and the time may come when we shall politely decline to have any of our space used by advertisers."⁴² The staff was equally contemptuous of all efforts to disfigure the paper with uninteresting matter. If a good story came in late, when the journal had been properly made up, Cummings might disdainfully throw out the advertising and insert it. Advertisers were treated with marked brusqueness. Occasionally one would ask for an interview on politics, or a critical review of his art collection, believing that his account gave him such a privilege. If he were not refused outright he might find his beautiful collection of paintings or other objects merely lampooned in the inimitable style of the *Sun*. Laffan carried this policy even further. He returned copy to advertisers and indiscriminately insulted the agents. Rosebault tells us that it was as though the paper had adopted the motto, "Spite 'em!"⁴³

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 280.

⁴¹ O'Brien, 405.

⁴² Apr. 3, 1878.

⁴³ *When Dana was The Sun*, 282-284.

The break with the Associated Press has been credited to Laffan. Dana's connection with the organization had been of long standing. In 1847 he had attended the first meeting as a representative of the *Tribune*, in company with agents of the New York *Herald*, *Sun*, *Courier and Enquirer*, *Journal of Commerce*, and *Evening Express*, all of whom met at the *Sun* office. Dana gave a share of the credit for its original establishment to Moses Yale Beach in a series of articles which he commenced in 1890 but never finished.⁴⁴ There is no record of this first meeting, although a few copies of the original agreement among members with autographs of Bennett, Greeley, Dana and others are extant. Some time after its establishment Dana became President.⁴⁵ An examination of magazine articles of this period and books dealing with Dana's career has yielded no satisfactory reason for the quarrel which caused him to throw away a franchise soon to be worth half a million and now unobtainable at any price. One ingenious account omits entirely the cause of the friction but deals with the effect. This was written by Edward G. Riggs, a member of the *Sun* staff.⁴⁶ According to this story, Dana calmly announced that he had just torn up his Associated Press franchise, and it would be the duty of the managing editor to procure the news of the entire world for the next morning edition. Lord soothed the ruffled feelings of his chief, quieted his fears, and advised him to go home and attend to his class in Dante. The next morning the *Sun* shone as usual with its accustomed news. Dana was pictured, in conclusion, as skipping and chuckling with glee while in his exuberance he clasped Lord around the shoulders and exclaimed, "Chester, you're a brick, you're a trump. You're the John L. Sullivan of newspaperdom!"

As a matter of fact, when the break was proposed Lord was aware of the immense task before him and the financial expenditures involved. But he was a *Sun* man. It was to him that credit went for the *Sun's* accurate election predictions. It was the first paper to inform Blaine of his defeat in 1884 and the first to inform Cleveland of his victory eight years later.⁴⁷ Lord was cool-headed and methodical, and was in touch with correspondents upon whom he had occasionally called for contributions in the past. By dint of great effort and expense the routine news formerly wired through the Association was brought to the *Sun*.

⁴⁴ Wilson, 485.

⁴⁵ *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, May, 1897.

⁴⁶ O'Brien, 375-376.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 374.

Laffan, who had proposed plans which the Associated Press would not accept, was now ready to organize a news service which would be exclusively owned.⁴⁸ Thus the Laffan Bureau came into existence. It procured news from abroad and sold it to various papers in America which approved of the news as handled by *Sun* men. The rivalry between the Associated Press and the Laffan Bureau was intense, and *Sun* correspondents were under a ban in many newspaper offices.⁴⁹ The bureau ferreted out some good news which was not received over the wires of the regular organization, and missed little that was important. In time, when the paper was purchased by Frank A. Munsey, after several changes in ownership, it regained the valuable rights of the Associated Press service through amalgamation with the New York *Press*. Rosebault thus describes the situation in which Lord had been placed:

Only a practical newspaperman can appreciate the absurdity of this proposal. While the *Sun*, like every important newspaper, had its own correspondents in important centers, like Washington, London, Paris and Berlin, the routine news even there came through the press associations, which also conveyed the news from all the rest of the world. Suddenly the managing editor was summoned to find a substitute for the long established, carefully planned and ably-executed operations of the associations, with their myriads of correspondents and existing connections with the channels through which news must be obtained! It was preposterous to the extreme, and only a cool-headed, well-balanced man could have stood up under the strain.⁵⁰

As a result of unfortunate political and financial policies Dana, in the evening of his life, had to watch the descent of the *Sun*. It still boasted a larger edition than when he first purchased it, but the circulation had followed the curve of a half moon and now approached the nether extremity. Dana's last years also saw the end of the era of personal journalism. One by one his rivals had closed shop, leaving the demands of the printing press to younger men. Raymond had died in 1869, but not without having demonstrated that New York had a place for a newspaper which presented "all the news of the day from all parts of the world" without personal or party bias.⁵¹ On his death E. L. Godkin of the *Nation* wrote: "In this art of making a good newspaper, we need hardly say he was the master. The *Times* under his

⁴⁸ *When Dana was The Sun*, 279.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 281

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 280

⁵¹ Bleyer, 251.

management probably came nearer the newspaper of the good time coming than any other in existence, in this, that it encouraged truthfulness—the reproduction of facts uncolored by the necessities of a ‘cause’ or by the editor’s personal feelings—among reporters; that it carried decency, temperance, and moderation into discussion, and banished personality from it. . . .”⁵²

Three years later Bennett, who aimed at producing a “lively, saucy and spicy” journal and succeeded in earning a bad reputation for the *Herald*, followed Raymond. One of his contributions to personal journalism had been the exploitation of intimate details of his own life. All remembered the announcement of his approaching marriage, with descriptions of the bride, and later of their infant son, James Gordon Bennett, Jr.⁵³ The year 1872 also saw the passing of Greeley, whose name had so long been familiar to every American. He upheld a nobler tradition than Bennett’s. Never had he failed to express his opinions on political, economic, social, or industrial questions through the editorial columns of the *Tribune*. Bryant, the poet-editor of the *Evening Post* was no longer able to carry on his part in the profession. Henry Waterson wrote in his Louisville *Courier Journal*:

Mr. Dana is left alone to tell the tale of old-time journalism in New York. He, of all his fellow editors of the great metropolis, has passed the period of middle age; though—years apart—he is as blithe and nimble as the youngest of them, . . .
 . . . In a word, Mr. Dana at fifty-three is as vigorous, sinewy, and live as a young buck of thirty-five or forty.

Then referring to Whitelaw Reid, now advanced to the editorship of the *Tribune*, Manton Marble of the *World*, and Louis Jennings of the *Times*, with whom Dana was to be henceforth associated, he continued:

The situation is changed completely, Bennett, Greeley, and Raymond are dead. Dana and Godkin, both about of an age, stand at the head of New York journalism; while Reid, Marble and Jennings, all young men, wear the purple of a new era.

Will it be an era of reforms? There are signs that it will be. Marble is a recruit. Reid is essentially a man of the world. Jennings is an Englishman. One would think that these three, led by two ripe scholars and gentlemen like Godkin and Dana, would alter the character of the old partisan warfare.⁵⁴

⁵² June 24, 1869.

⁵³ Bleyer, 194.

⁵⁴ O'Brien, 166, 167, 168.

In this same editorial, Watterson stated, "There will never be an end to the personality of journalism," and with his opinion Dana was in complete accord. The following editorial, which he penned in defense of the old order, is so positive and expresses so perfectly the Dana period in American journalism, that it has often been employed by authors upon this subject to explain the spirit which then prevailed:

A great deal of twaddle is uttered by some country newspapers just now over what they call personal journalism. They say that now that Mr. Bennett, Mr. Raymond and Mr. Greeley are dead, the day for personal journalism is gone by, and that impersonal journalism in which nobody will ask who is the editor of a paper or the writer of any class of article, and nobody will care.

Whenever in the newspaper profession a man rises up who is original, strong, and bold enough to make his opinions a matter of consequence to the public there will be personal journalism; and whenever newspapers are conducted only by common-place individuals whose views are of no interest to the world and of no consequence to anybody there will be nothing but impersonal journalism.

And this is the essence of the whole question.⁵⁵

Watterson and Dana both remained unmoved by the trend toward the impersonal newspaper. An English author was surprised to discover in 1887 that American editors sometimes "use their papers for exchange of civilities, as when Watterson, of the Louisville *Courier Journal*, invited Dana of the New York *Sun* to visit him. 'Come,' he says, 'and see us, and bring your knitting and stay most all day,' and Mr. Dana regrets editorially that he cannot accept."⁵⁶ An amusing example of personal journalism is offered by Dana's response to A. G. Heckman of Seville, Ohio, who had asked certain questions:

1. "Has the editor of the *Sun* ever been a candidate for any State office? If not, why is it that a man of his intelligence and statesmanship has never been nominated for Congress and elected too?"

He has never been a candidate for any State office, and we don't know why he has never been nominated for Congress, except, perhaps, that he never wanted to be, because he had another job on hand which was more agreeable and seemed more important.

2. "Did he vote for Grover Cleveland for Governor?"

Yes he did, most certainly. But he only voted once.

3. "What is his age?"

⁵⁵ Dec 6, 1872.

⁵⁶ The *Eclectic Magazine*, Oct. 1887.

Come, now, that is a delicate question. We decline to respond on that subject.⁵⁷

Another example is equally interesting. Many people believed Dana was of such a contradictory nature that he supported the Democrats in his newspaper, but voted the Republican ticket. An accusation by the *Yonkers Statesman* gave him the opportunity to deny this assertion:

We are assured by the inspector of elections who received his ballot on Long Island, at the last fall election, that Mr. Dana, the editor of *The Sun*, voted the straight Republican ticket. He somewhat ostentatiously folded his ballot with the printed side out, as if anxious to have it known how he was voting. The same gentleman, whom we believe to be entirely reliable, says Mr. Dana has voted the Republican ticket for several years past.

The same gentleman lies. And now tell us what is his name.⁵⁸

Near the end of his career Dana was called upon to speak before different audiences and for the first time set forth some of his ideas on journalism. In 1888 he addressed the Wisconsin Editorial Association, saying that he knew of no set of professional rules which could be laid down as a guide, but thought there were codes of ethics for the lawyer, the physician and the newspaperman as well. He offered the following maxims:

Get the news, get all the news, get nothing but the news.

Copy nothing from another publication without perfect credit.

Never print an interview without the knowledge and consent of the party interviewed.

Never print a paid advertisement as news-matter. Let every advertisement appear as an advertisement; no sailing under false colors.

Never attack the weak or defenceless, either by argument, by invective or by ridicule, unless there is some absolute public necessity for so doing.

Fight for your opinions but do not believe that they contain the whole truth or the only truth.

Support your party, if you have one; but do not think all the good men are in it and all the bad ones outside of it.

Above all, know and believe that humanity is advancing; that there is progress in human life and human affairs; and that, as sure as God lives, the future will be greater and better than the present or the past.⁵⁹

In an address at Cornell University, in 1893, Dana added six others:

⁵⁷ Nov. 21, 1882.

⁵⁸ July 13, 1880.

⁵⁹ O'Brien, 238-239.

Never be in a hurry.

Hold fast to the Constitution.

Stand by the Stars and Stripes. Above all, stand for liberty whatever happens. A word that is not spoken never does any mischief.

All the goodness of a good egg cannot make up for the badness of a bad one. If you find you have been wrong, don't fear to say so.⁶⁰

Dana thought men of wide education, with a knowledge of both Latin and Greek, preferable for the work of the journalist. He advised reading Shakespeare and Milton for their eloquence and force. Speaking before students of Union College in 1893 he urged study of the Bible as a model of condensation. His mention of the Bible amused the *Nation*. Noting that the students greeted his remarks with applause, it commented, "It is a curious thing, by the way, that such a welcome is usually accorded by believers to the confession of non-believers."⁶¹

Upon reporting Dana said: "I had rather take a young fellow who knows the "Ajax" of Sophocles, and has read Tacitus, and can scan every ode of Horace—I would rather take him to report a prize-fight or a spelling match, for instance, than to take one who has never had those advantages." However, he told an amusing story of a chap who could not spell four words correctly while his verbs were apt not to agree with the subject in person or number. "But, he always got the facts so exactly, and he saw the picturesque, the interesting, the important aspect of it so vividly, that it was worth another man's while, who possessed the knowledge of grammar and spelling, to go over the report and write it out." "Clarity," "vividness," and "interest" were three of his chief requirements for a newspaper. Dana believed the reporter should possess the ability to grasp the truth of an event which he witnessed as well as the importance. Condensation practiced in the *Sun* did not exclude details; it excluded unnecessary words, repetitions, and superfluous statements. He considered the motto, "Be interesting," an invariable law for the newspaper.

As a young journalist Joseph Pulitzer looked toward New York as the city of opportunity. He was most attracted to Dana's luminary and in 1871 wrote a friend, "I read the *Sun* regularly. *In my opinion it is the most piquant, entertaining, and, without exception, the best newspaper in the world.*"⁶² This friend might easily have been Dana himself. Five

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 239.

⁶¹ Oct. 19, 1893.

⁶² The *Sun*, Aug. 24, 1871.

years later Pulitzer sat in the *Sun* office. He had come East to speak in the campaign for Tilden and Hendricks, and incidentally to scrutinize the newspaper field. At this time he wished to start a German edition of the *Sun* in competition with Oswald Ottendorfer's *Staats-Zeitung*. The proposed enterprise was not carried out, but Pulitzer became a semi-editorial correspondent during the electoral dispute of 1876-1877. Later, in 1878, he was one of its European correspondents. While on the *Sun* he was given complete freedom of expression. Nevertheless, after his purchase of Jay Gould's stock in the *World*, it was the *Sun* which called his manner of presenting news "yellow."

"Yellow" came to apply to the sensational page, the faked interview, the stolen photograph, trespassing upon private relations, secret correspondence, and other vicious practices. Not only did Pulitzer on the *World* indulge in yellow journalism, but William Randolph Hearst, who purchased the New York *Journal* in 1895, became adept at the new sensationalism. In passing, it is interesting to note how the term originated. The *World* began a comic sheet which concerned the activities of the "Yellow Kid." When Hearst established the *Journal* he hired Pulitzer's cartoonist. Dana, who from the first had hated their publications, wrote an editorial in the *Sun* in which he noted the transfer of the "Yellow Kid" to its new headquarters, referring to the two papers as "Yellow Journals" and their style of journalism as the "yellow journalism."⁶³

As a moulder of public opinion Dana never ranked with the finest and greatest American editors, like Greeley, Bryant, and Samuel Bowles. The fact is this was not his ambition. The *Sun* was too erratic in its position upon controversial issues to hold its readers to a steady course in regard to public policy. On the other hand no editor exerted a greater influence than Dana in revolutionizing the profession of journalism. In this field he made a lasting contribution. The *Sun* style of editorial writing and news reporting became the envy of the newspaper world.

Because of the colorful manner of presenting the human-interest side of life and the amount of space given to personal affairs of a sensational character in the *Sun*, Dana was accused of introducing yellow journalism. But the *Sun* was superior to the yellow journal in its intellectual qualities, literary standard and presentation of news. It may be said, however, that it marked a transition between the two eras in journalism:

⁶³ *The Living Age*, Aug. 27, 1898.

while it greatly contributed to the disrepute of the old-fashioned party paper, which flourished in the age of the slavery issue, Civil War and Reconstruction, it was at the same time the forerunner of the *World* and the *Journal*.

Naturally the yellow journal was not developed without protest. Godkin of the *Evening Post* and the *Nation* inveighed against its progress. First he denounced the features of sensationalism and political immorality exemplified by the *Sun*; later, in the nineties, he turned his attention to the puerile crudities of the *World* and *Journal*.⁶⁴ There had always been a distinct prejudice in conservative circles against the philosophy of the motto "The Sun Shines for All." Vulgar people might enjoy the details of vice, murder, rape, and the doings of the immoral fashionable set in London, but some asked if a journal ought not to educate as well as interest and amuse. This feeling foreshadowed a new motto, that which Adolph S. Ochs adopted for the *New York Times*: "All the News that's fit to Print." Dana answered the protests of his critics in the following words:

There is a great disposition in some quarters to say that the newspaper ought to limit the amount of the news that they print; that certain kinds of news ought not to be published. I do not know how that is. I am not prepared to maintain any abstract proposition in that line; but I have always felt that whatever the Divine Providence permitted to occur I was not too proud to report.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Nevins, *The Evening Post*, A Century of Journalism, 549.

⁶⁵ O'Brien, 241.

CHAPTER III

THE RECONSTRUCTION BOOMERANG

ON January 27, 1868, the *Sun* announced that while it would "continue to be an independent newspaper" and would discuss "public questions and acts of public men on their merits alone," it would support Gen. Grant as its candidate for the Presidency. Dana added, "It will advocate the speedy restoration of the South as needful to revive business and secure fair wages for labor."

In its second issue the *Sun* devoted an editorial to three of the most burning questions arising out of the condition of the South in 1868: Had the Reconstruction policy of Congress failed and, if so, who was to blame? Would Negro suffrage lead to Negro supremacy? Should the law have been passed putting the Military Commanders directly under the authority of General Grant instead of the President? As the publicly avowed spokesman of "The great body of non-partisans," it declared "peace and prosperity as of more consequence than the triumph of any political party" and demanded "that Reconstruction be speedily completed, so that the business of the country, North and South, may resume its wonted channels." Failure of the Reconstruction policy was blamed upon "the omission of the President to convene Congress at the close of the rebellion, so that a harmonious plan of Reconstruction might be devised"; and to "the rejection by the South of the proposed Constitutional Amendment." The bill placing the five military districts of the South directly under Grant's authority was upheld, for, although opposed as "an abstract principle" to lodging so much power in the hands of any one man, the *Sun* believed there was nothing to fear from Grant for "*he* dislikes it quite as much as the people do. He does not covet extraordinary authority." Nor should the General be blamed "for fomenting the disorders which render this measure a necessity. . . . Rather let the insurgents, the President, the Congress distribute it among themselves, assigning to each their due share. His withers are unwrung." While not committing itself on Negro Suffrage the editorial ridiculed the fear of "Negro Supremacy" claiming that "a resolute people . . .

will scout the suggestion that five millions of white voters are about to succumb to eight hundred thousand black voters."

It is evident that the *Sun* accepted Congressional Reconstruction. So did the *Tribune*, which said the measures of Congress were required "to save four million of our people from virtual slavery, ten more states from the condition of Kentucky and Maryland and the Union of a triumph of the principles of the men of the rebellion." But the *Times* saw neither warrant nor excuse for such measures, either in actual peril to the nation or in "fictitious dangers which in the *Tribune's* fancy threaten the negro and *its own party policy of Reconstruction.*"¹

During the first half of February, 1868, the *Sun* published frequent editorials on the quarrel of Johnson and Grant over the War Department. All bore the same burden: Johnson deliberately mistates facts while Grant could not and would not tell a lie. On the sixth the *Sun* called Johnson's attempt to ensnare the General in his scheme to get rid of Stanton "a conspiracy against the Constitution" and intimated the possibility of impeachment:

One of the principal duties imposed upon the President by the Constitution is, to "take care that the laws be faithfully executed." We are confident we utter the opinion of considerate men of all parties in saying, that we have arrived at a grave and dangerous pass when the President admits that he tried to persuade the General-in-Chief to violate a law which involves matters vital to the country, and, when called in question for it, glories in it, and anathematizes the General for not carrying out an alleged agreement to join him in a conspiracy against the Constitution.

Yet the *Sun* advised against the impeachment of Johnson because of the approaching election, when the President would receive a "public repudiation at the polls." Indeed, even before that he would be repudiated by his own party in the nominating convention. "So soon as the standard bearers are selected, and the great battle for succession opens nobody will deem Mr. Johnson of sufficient consequence to waste a thimbleful of powder on him."²

When word came that the House of Representatives was considering the impeachment of Johnson for violating the Tenure of Office Act, the *Sun* again advised against it. But when the vote to impeach was actually taken, it upheld the House. Until May 6 it steadily maintained that

¹ The *Times*, Jan. 28, 1868. Begins with quotation from *Tribune* given in preceding sentence.

² Feb. 12, 1868.

the President would be convicted; then it began to predict acquittal. As this prospect became more certain it claimed to have been the first to estimate the number of votes in Johnson's favor.

Dana scathingly attacked Thaddeus Stevens and the *Tribune* for calling the Senators who had decided to vote for acquittal "Traitors" and for attempting to coerce them in the name of party loyalty.

. . . These Senators have sworn to try the case according to the law and the evidence. They have an oath registered in heaven; and we might just as rightfully waylay the jurors who have rendered a verdict against our interests, and beat them or murder them, because they have not decided as we wished, as assail Mr. Fessenden, Mr. Trumbull, and Mr. Grimes in this fashion. We may disprove their arguments and deplore their action. But we must respect their honesty and their independence. . . .³

But such a statement did not indicate a changed attitude toward Johnson, for the pen of the *Sun* became even sharper in depicting him. Dana was not surprised at Johnson's acquittal. The *Sun* was primarily concerned with the effect of the trial upon the party that was to elect Grant to the Presidency. After a brief preamble on the fallibility of judicial proceedings, Dana thus wrote of the most famous impeachment trial in American history:

Senators, accustomed to test every public act of their lives by a political standard, could not in the nature of things be expected to try Andrew Johnson upon the articles in which the House of Representatives had impeached him with the same cool impartiality as a judge would hear and decide a case in which he had not the slightest personal interest. . . . For periods of eight, ten, and fifteen years, these gentlemen had been engaged in fierce controversies on the floor of the Senate, dividing strictly upon party lines hundreds of times. In a case so exclusively political in its essential elements, it would have been a marvel if they could have risen wholly above all partisan prejudices and impulses immediately and simply on taking an oath to act therein as impartial judges.

Macaulay, in his celebrated sketch of the trial of Warren Hastings, has said that impeachment is more of a political than a judicial proceeding, it is the extreme mode to which parties have resorted at long intervals to rid themselves of noxious officials. The case of Mr. Johnson is precisely in point. He has gone backward upon the party that elevated him to power, waging implacable war against it for two years, resisting its policy and thwarting its measures for the reconstruction of the Union. Throughout this bitter controversy he has been sustained by the Democracy with vigor and passion as

³ May 13, 1868.

he has been opposed by the Republicans. Impeached by one party and tried by Senators representing both, it is creditable to that tribunal that the proceedings have exhibited so little of mere partisanship. A calm survey of the trial from its inception to its termination must bring every fair mind to the conclusion that the dominant majority in the Senate, urged onward by extreme provocation, have displayed quite as little prejudice and partiality in passing through this severe ordeal as have their opponents.

From the beginning to the end of the case, Republican Senators have been divided in opinion on many essential points, and were found on opposite sides in recording their judgment on the important eleventh article while on the other hand, from the opening to the close, Democratic Senators have voted and acted unitedly and solidly as one man. It does not, therefore, become the triumphant minority to hurl charges of partisan partiality and proscription at the majority who have barely failed to obtain a two-thirds vote against the accused. . . .⁴

The *Tribune* held Chief Justice Chase responsible for deciding the vote of Van Winkle; and the *Times* claimed the President had bargained for acquittal by offering a change in the Cabinet as the price.⁵ The *Sun* upheld "the lofty and irreproachable character" of Judge Chase,⁶ and ridiculed the statement of the *Times*:

Some donkey reports that President Johnson is going to reorganize his Cabinet, and fill it with thorough going Republicans. Also, that he will henceforth cease to resist the Congressional plan of Reconstruction. Indeed, it is said that some of the Senators understood as much from him before they made up their minds how they should vote.

Whenever these changes really take place, we shall advise our readers to believe in them—not before.⁷

From January to June of 1868 the *Sun* devoted much editorial space to the various candidates for the forthcoming Presidential nominations. But despite the importance of Reconstruction and Greenbacks the *Sun* had only one editorial, prior to his nomination, on Grant's fitness for reconstructing the South, and none whatever indicating his position on finance. Perhaps Grant had no fixed opinions on the subject. At any rate, Dana knew his readers were convinced a military genius would attack the problem at the strategic moment. When doubts arose as to Grant's ability to cope with public affairs, the *Sun* allayed them by re-

⁴ May 18, 1868.

⁵ May 19, 1868.

⁶ May 20, 1868.

⁷ May 19, 1868.

minding its readers of the General's great prowess on the battlefield and his finesse in handling Lee.⁸

Dana assumed the great mass of voters were more interested in Grant's moral preparation for the Presidency than his mental. Did Grant drink? Did he go to church? Had he sprung from plain people like themselves? What home life did he have? The *Sun* quoted such respectable journals as the *Evening Post* and *Nation* to prove the charge of drunkenness a ridiculous falsehood.⁹ On February 25th it began printing serially "The Early Life of General Grant," written by his father for the *New York Ledger*, from which it selected choice bits for special commendation.

Of the fifteen or more Democratic candidates editorialized in the *Sun*, Chase, Pendleton and Seymour appeared to be Dana's favorites. Beginning in March with a leading editorial on "Judge Chase as a Democratic Nominee," the *Sun* featured his candidacy almost daily until May. On March 17, the *Sun* said, "With Chase and Grant in the field the Republicans will not care so much which wins, and the Democrats will have a chance to retrieve their now rather desperate fortunes." Yet Dana by no means desired Chase's election. This was shown by the *Sun's* novel suggestion that George Francis Train be nominated on the ticket with him as Vice-President: "Such a combination would consolidate and popularize the Democratic party, avert all dangers of a war of races in the South, and save the country from the dangers of a corrupt election by the House of Representatives."¹⁰

The swing to Pendleton, on April 28, was accompanied by a most ingenious editorial upon "Positive Democrats," that is, upon those who realized the necessity of placating the Southern voters. "Hence, they scoff at the idea of nominating a War Democrat as both pusillanimous and impolitic." It was these Bourbon Democrats who, the *Sun* claimed, were controlling the Democratic party, despite the infusion of younger and more progressive men. Not only was the party in the grip of the reactionaries but it was divided into "War Democrats" and "Peace Democrats," "Northern and Southern Democrats," "Confederate politicians" who must be conciliated, and "Copperhead politicians" who must be rebuked.

⁸ Jan. 31, 1868.

⁹ Mar. 3, 1868.

¹⁰ Mar. 21, 1868.

Asserting repeatedly, though erroneously, that the growth of sentiment in the East in favor of Pendleton assured his nomination at the National Convention, the *Sun* insisted that his choice would not give "positive strength" to the Democratic party, and again suggested the nomination of Judge Chase for President with John T. Hoffman for Vice-President. This suggestion was reinforced by an editorial devoted to "Judge Chase and the Democracy." Although opening with an admission that there was no popular feeling in favor of the Chief Justice, it urged his nomination on the ground of the invaluable service he had rendered the Democracy by his opposition to the impeachment against the President and his influence in securing Johnson's acquittal.¹¹

Meanwhile the Republicans had nominated Grant by acclamation at their Chicago Convention:

This was but the recognition and satisfaction of a foregone conclusion. Long ago he was presented to the American people as a Presidential Candidate by large numbers of his Countrymen, representing all parties, all classes and all sections.

He has maintained his independent position amid the conflicts of parties and the strife of factions; and even now he does not carry the banner of the Republicans in any distinctive sense, but they rather follow his lead, because they trust in this patriotism, confide in his wisdom, and believe the prestige of his great renown can secure victory. . . .

In the midst of wide-spread venality and corruption, no man has ever doubted his honesty, though he had almost unlimited control over millions of public money. His administration as General-in-Chief of the army and as Secretary of War *ad interim*, is not only marked with eminent ability, but distinguished for retrenchment and economy. . . .

Ever since the downfall of the rebellion, he has been anxious for the earliest possible restoration of the insurgent States to their former relations to the Union. He has deprecated the quarrels between the Executive and Legislative departments of the Government, which have tended to retard this work. . . . In this he has exhibited the sterling qualities of a wise and liberal statesman. If he should be elected to the Presidency, all impartial and unprejudiced men, whether Radicals or Conservatives, and whether dwelling at the North or the South would feel that the Union and the Constitution were safe in his hands. . . .¹²

The *Sun* watched eagerly the proceedings of the Democratic Convention which assembled in New York City on July 4. Although it had

¹¹ May 22, 1868.

¹² *Ibid.*

predicted as late as May 18 that Horatio Seymour would execute a *coup de main* with the help of the Albany Regency, it later appeared convinced that Pendleton would sweep the gathering. When the nomination of Seymour and Frank P. Blair was announced the *Sun* said:

We but repeat what we have repeatedly said, when we assert that Gov. Seymour is the most distinguished member of the Democratic party. Though he was clearly entitled to its nomination, the extraordinary unanimity with which it was conferred upon him amid the most intense excitement and unbounded enthusiasm, must be extremely gratifying to his feelings. . . .

Gen. Blair is a man of fair talents and great force of character. . . . Though coming of a pure Democratic stock he acted with the Republicans from the organization of that party down to about the period of the death of Mr. Lincoln, when his political course became somewhat wayward and fitful.¹⁸

Throughout the campaign the *Sun* made Blair its special target. On June 30, he had written a letter to James O. Broadhead which declared that the "one way to restore the government and the Constitution" was "for the President-elect to declare the Reconstruction acts null and void, compel the army to undo its usurpation at the South, disperse the carpetbag State governments, allow the white people to reorganize their own governments and elect senators and representatives." Dana never tired of assailing that letter.

As the campaign progressed the *Sun* printed voluminous reports of the alleged outrages perpetrated upon blacks and loyal whites by secret organizations of the South. Although the activities of the Ku Klux Klan were a result of Negro Suffrage, which the *Sun* had disapproved, it now blamed the outraged whites severely. On April 8 it advised that Gen. Fremont's method of dealing with the bushwhackers, robbers, murderers, railroad and telegraph destroyers of Missouri be applied to the Klan. Fremont had first tried the plan of arrest and trial without success; then he put the State under martial law and authorized those outlaws "to be caught and shot, not tried. . . . The simple effect was that . . . after two months of this . . . the whole State was quiet."

Likewise the *Sun* reiterated the necessity of military rule in the South. It had regarded with approval the reorganization of the rebel states into new military districts. This was prompted not only by the turbulence of the South but the need of carrying it for Grant. The maintenance of

¹⁸ July 10, 1868.

troops was now fully justified by harrowing accounts of the Millican riot in Texas:

The United States troops on the spot were only twenty in number and . . . if all other proof were wanting, this single occurrence, by itself, would sufficiently demonstrate the lawless and disorganized condition of Texas, and the need it has of a strong and energetically administered military government. . . .

And when it is further considered that lawlessness of the same kind, though not to so excessive a degree, prevails in all the Southern States, as the consequence of the disorganization caused by the rebellion, we can see how unwise it would be to give over that region at once and unconditionally to the inhabitants, without assistance from our army. We need to keep troops at the South for the sake of the Southerners. . . .¹⁴

The trial of Jefferson Davis, scheduled for November, provided additional material for attacking the South. In the heat of the campaign the *Sun* gave space to a biting prediction that "Jeff Davis will not be tried."

There is not enough in the case to pay for trying it. No capital would be made out of it by anybody. It would be a farce in which the actors would necessarily render themselves ridiculous.

Why?

Because, in the first place, the war has been a long time over, and to hang a man for treason committed in waging it would seem something like executing a man in cold blood, after twenty years of imprisonment. Hanging to be graceful and Christian should be done quickly after the perpetration of the offense.¹⁵

On November 4th, the *Sun* announced the election of Grant. Readers were informed of two things they might expect of the President-elect. One of these was the completion of the work of reconstruction; the other the pacification of the Southern States:

To both of these he is heartily committed, and the legislative department of the Government will cordially co-operate with him in attaining these most desirable objects. . . .

So desirous are all classes of our loyal people to see this long controversy closed, that should there be any factious resistance to its early settlement, they will demand that the new Administration effect it, if need be, by the strong hand. However we confidently look for the interposition of such moderate and

¹⁴ July 30, 1868.

¹⁵ Oct. 15, 1868.

conciliatory counsel in the South as will obviate the necessity for carrying forward the work in any other than the ordinary forms.

Of one thing, however, they may be assured: the Administration of Gen. Grant, while dealing leniently and equitably with the turbulent elements below the Potomac and the Ohio, will maintain the supremacy of the laws, and defend the rights of all classes in that section of the Union, at all hazards.¹⁶

Now that Grant had been elected President the Tenure of Office Act seemed obsolete. Passed to limit the removal power of Johnson, its retention would be insulting to the superman soon to succeed him. The *Sun* declared that

"this act ought to be repealed. The exigency under which it was passed is about to disappear. Wisely or unwisely, it was adopted as one of a series of stringent measures to circumscribe the waywardness of a Chief Magistrate in whom Congress had no confidence. Practically, its operations have been worse than their failures. . . ."¹⁷

This sober second thought of the *Sun* makes it hard to believe that Dana had at one time justified the impeachment of a President upon the constitutionality of this now discredited law.

The new spirit evinced by the *Sun* did not carry over to universal amnesty. Johnson's Proclamation of July 3 had been galling even though Davis was excepted.¹⁸ The President's Christmas Amnesty "pardoning everybody for being engaged in the rebellion," including Jeff Davis, pleased Dana less. Consequently the *Sun* approved the report of the Judiciary Committee stating that not only was there no occasion for it but that the President had no right to declare it:

The Constitution contains not one word about "amnesty." It says that the President may grant "pardons" and "reprieves," and by no stretching of interpretation can either of these terms be made to include such an exercise of royal prerogative as the offering of a wholesale immunity from trial and punishment to offenders not yet condemned by the Courts.¹⁹

The proposed Fifteenth Amendment was the most important act under discussion in Congress at this time. The Senate Amendment was more sweeping and drastic than the one proposed in the House, not

¹⁶ Nov. 20, 1868.

¹⁷ Dec. 30, 1868.

¹⁸ July 4, 1868.

¹⁹ Feb. 19, 1868.

only guaranteeing the privilege of holding office and of voting, but making it impossible to deny the elective franchise on the ground of nativity, property, and education in addition to race, color and creed. The *Sun* said:

It is evidently just as necessary to protect the newly enfranchised colored men of the South from restrictions upon their right of voting as it was to endow them with that right originally. Without making them voters, a discreet and satisfactory reconstruction of the South was impossible; and the good order and progress of the Southern States now requires that the political freedom of the blacks should be guarded against the possibility of overthrow. This will be sufficiently accomplished by the amendment of the House. The right to vote being safe, the right to hold office will take care of itself. The addition of the Senate guaranteeing the latter is superfluous, useless and mistaken.²⁰

In his opposition to unqualified universal suffrage Dana had been consistent. Nevertheless, when a few days later the Amendment as adopted was changed to read: "The rights of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude,"²¹ the *Sun* gave its wholehearted approval.

Before the first week of the new Administration was over, it was apparent that Dana's admiration for Grant had undergone a change. By the end of March, *Sun* readers were made to feel, as in the days of Andrew Johnson, that the salvation of the country rested upon the legislative, not the executive branch of the Government. "History tells us," said the *Sun*, "as civilization advances, great men become overshadowed and disappear." Therefore it was childish of the *Tribune* to expect very much of Grant.²² Two days later the *Sun* reverted to its old position on the Tenure of Office Act, thus proving that its confidence in Grant had changed to distrust. If already the *Sun* was too disillusioned to trust Grant to exercise the removal power, would it have faith in his ability to handle the complicated problems of Reconstruction?

July 6 and November 30, 1869 were the dates fixed for voting on new constitutions in Virginia and Mississippi respectively. The disenfranchising and test oath clauses were to be submitted separately. In Virginia an active canvass took place between the Conservative party

²⁰ Feb. 15, 1869.

²¹ Feb. 26, 1869.

²² Mar. 29, 1869.

and the Radical party, composed of Negroes and white Republicans. The Conservatives won a sweeping victory. In Mississippi both parties voted for the constitution and against the objectionable clause; but the Radicals elected the Governor, members of the State legislature, and Representatives to Congress. In Texas the constitution was likewise adopted and the Radical candidate elected Governor. Meantime Virginia ratified the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments and in December sent Conservative Representatives to Washington to seek admittance to Congress.

While these events were taking place, a reversal in attitude toward the old ruling class of the South and the Republican party of the North crept into the *Sun*. Its former championship of Carpetbaggers and Scalawags, changed to an appreciation of the rebel whites and a marked interest in the political future of the Democratic party. "The money and brains of the white rebels will be more than a match for the negroes and scattering white Republicans in the former Slave States. The Democrats will have a solid vote in the south . . . and we also doubt whether a large majority of the Democratic party in the free States would not prefer Robert E. Lee to Gen. Grant for President today."²³ By July the *Sun* was vigorously attacking Grant:

We have waited to see what reasons of a broad, national character could be given by Gen. Grant and the Republican press for the postponement of the elections in Mississippi and Texas to so late a period as the close of next November; but we have failed to discover any. This postponement, coming right upon the heels of the Virginia election, shows a timidity in meeting the issues involved in the reconstruction policy, which does not augur well for the Administration. . . .

One of the solid grounds whereon the Republicans base the peculiar reconstruction policy which they applied to the three states of Virginia, Mississippi and Texas, was that the peace of the country demands an early settlement of questions which had so long disturbed the public tranquillity. . . .

We assure Gen. Grant that the sooner he abandons this cowardly and unprincipled line of policy, the better it will be for him and his administration.²⁴

A year before, when supporting the election of Grant, Dana would have condoned a policy that would enable Negroes to vote the Republican ticket.

Despite the *Sun's* cordiality toward the South it could not forgive

²³ Apr. 3, 1869.

²⁴ July 22, 1869.

Georgia for having forcibly replaced her Negro legislators with ineligible whites. Therefore it upheld Congress in refusing to admit her Representatives until atonement had been made. On December 22, 1869, a law was passed requiring all members of the State legislature to take oath they were not disqualified to hold office under the Fourteenth Amendment and declaring that no Negro should be excluded on account of color. It was also provided that upon application of the Governor the President should employ what military force was necessary to execute the act; ²⁵ and that Georgia must ratify the Fifteenth Amendment before her Representatives could be admitted to Congress. Two days before the act was passed the *Sun* said:

Viewed from one point, the pending legislation by Congress preliminary to the full restoration of Georgia to the Union might seem to be exacting and severe. But when examined in the light of the proceedings of her Legislature in expelling some of its members simply on account of their color, the interposition of Congress is both necessary and justifiable.²⁶

In January, 1870, Congress took up the case of Virginia; and the Radicals succeeded in tacking new conditions upon her for admission to the Union. Her recent Conservative victory combined with Georgia's vote for Seymour and Blair made them fearful lest these States escape the Republican yoke. Consequently, an act similar to that framed for Georgia was designed for Virginia and approved January 27. Soon after this the reconstruction of Virginia was formally completed. In February, Mississippi and Texas were admitted under the same conditions as Virginia.

The new provisions which Congress imposed upon Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas required them to word their constitutions so as to provide a high degree of social equality for the Negro. Dana foresaw that this would aggravate the race problem rather than solve it:

There are but two things that can hereafter make the agitation of negro questions a disturbing element in politics, and especially in national contests. It is the ostentatious attempt on the one hand to confer upon the negro special privileges,—thus inflaming the prejudice of large masses of white citizens; and, on the other hand, the persistent effort to deprive him of the rights he has already obtained, thus summoning his friends to the rescue, arousing the

²⁵ Dunning, Wm. A., *Reconstruction Political and Economic*, 181-182; Woolley, Edwin C., *The Reconstruction of Georgia*, 69.

²⁶ Dec. 20, 1869.

opposition of that large conservative class who will frown upon efforts to reopen issues which have once been closed.²⁷

In North Carolina Governor Holden, taking advantage of exaggerated Ku Klux Klan stories to maintain his control, appealed to the President for authority to use Federal troops. His request was granted. In the meantime the campaign for a new State legislature was in progress. The Democrats, aroused to supreme effort by the tactics of Holden, carried the State. Five days later the *Sun* wrote:

The overwhelming defeat of Gen. Grant's Administration in North Carolina foreshadows its downfall in all the former slave holding States. For a time after the war the rule of the carpet baggers in the South was a matter of necessity. The old dominant class did not take kindly to the new order of things which sprang from the success of the Union arms. The inroad of a governing element from the North was the natural result; and that it should bring in its train a body of adventurers was almost a thing of course. . . . These corrupt carpet-bag usurpations are the outliving supports of Gen. Grant's administration. They sustain him by their votes and he maintains them by his bayonets. Their downfall will herald his overthrow.²⁸

Perhaps in no way was the *Sun's* change in attitude toward the South more striking than in its appeals for magnanimity on the part of the North. On the ground that "reconstruction . . . is settled and out of the way," it asked:

Is it not time to bury in oblivion the traces of our civil war, and grapple to our hearts with hooks of steel, as of old, our fellow citizens of the South, whose errors, great as they were, have been grievously atoned for? . . . No one can tell how soon this country may be embroiled in a foreign war. When the hour strikes, we want the hearts of our people to beat with but one response to the call of patriotism and duty. We want them to kindle in unison again as they did in those "brave days of old" when Massachusetts and South Carolina went shoulder to shoulder through the Revolution together. . . . This is the spirit that a wise forecasting statesmanship would study how to restore. It can never be regained by reminding each other continually of the bitter antagonisms of our civil struggle.²⁹

Already the *Sun* had caught the glint of the reconstruction boom-rang starting its backward curve through the four recently redeemed

²⁷ Feb. 11, 1870.

²⁸ Aug. 9, 1870.

²⁹ Nov. 22, 1870.

States of Tennessee, Georgia, Virginia and North Carolina. The "Solid South" was beginning to emerge out of the chaos resulting from the subversion of patriotism and humanitarianism to the stupidity and lust of the Grand Old Party. To avert this disaster the Republican party embarked upon the phase of Reconstruction known as "Congressional Tyranny." Congress resorted to two acts: one, passed February 28, 1871, called "An Act to enforce the rights of citizens of the United States to vote in the several States of this Union," designated as the Second Enforcement Act; the other, known as the Ku Klux Klan Act passed April 20, 1871, to enforce the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment.³⁰

The *Sun* had denounced the First Enforcement Act as superfluous. It showed its contempt for the Second Enforcement Act by ignoring it. But the Ku Klux Klan Act was a fresh grievance. Scoring the message calling for such legislation as "Grant's Ignorance," the *Sun* maintained that the Ku Klux Klan Act was "an unconstitutional and dangerous measure." Dana used the same arguments against the Act as those advanced by Senator Lyman Trumbull and Senator Thurman of the Judiciary Committee. But with considerable more asperity the *Sun* said:

The pretext for the passage of this new bill of pains and penalties is to put down what are called the Ku Klux outrages. Assume . . . they are as numerous as the advocates of this bill assert, does anybody pretend that they are committed under and in pursuance of any law passed by any Southern State? . . . on the contrary they are violations of the laws of those States. Consequently, the legislation proposed is not justified by the Fourteenth Amendment.³¹

The *Sun's* growing cordiality for the South was also revealed in its criticism of the President's "qualified" recommendation for amnesty. By 1871 Dana had come to believe that "if Congress will promptly give general amnesty to [the Southerners] and the administration will withdraw its coercive bayonets . . . an unprecedented career of prosperity lies open" to them.³²

In Louisiana the center of interest was a quarrel between two factions of the Republican party: one headed by Governor Henry C. Warmoth, the other by S. B. Packard, United States Marshal. Warmoth had

³⁰ Rhodes, James F, *History of the United States*, VI, 312-313; Dunning, *Reconstruction*, 186-187.

³¹ Mar. 29, 1871.

³² Feb. 4, 1871.

offended the Radicals by influencing the legislature to remove all disabilities resulting from the war, a measure which boded ill for the continuance of Republican rule. The Administration's support of Packard caused the *Sun* to speak out angrily:

Packard called in the troops to enforce the order of the White House dictator. There is no wriggling out of the infamous position to which the facts consign the President. He was at the bottom of the conspiracy to overawe and control the Republican State Convention by excluding from its halls, at the point of the bayonet, every member who hesitated to second ambitious pretensions. On testimony no stronger than that which convicts Grant, Judges send criminals to penitentiaries and scaffolds every week in the year.

. . . never till now has an office-holder who aspired to a renomination so far abused his authority, and so far presumed on the patience of the people, as to employ the troops under his command in controlling the proceedings of a political convention. That this was done by Grant at New Orleans under false pretences, and through the agency of cringing tools, only adds to his high-handed crime the lesser and meaner vices of hypocrisy and cowardice.³⁸

In October the *Sun* made a similar charge against the President in regard to the election in Texas, where again "the use of troops and cannon" was being countenanced by the Government at Washington in order "to carry the approaching election in that State by the Republican governor." When Grant issued his final proclamation affecting South Carolina the *Sun* was further aroused. Not only was it "preliminary to the act of placing the State under martial law" but "it is evident that the alleged outrages in South Carolina which have been made the pretext for Grant's assumption of dictatorial powers are either fictitious or have been greatly exaggerated for political effect." Hereupon the *Sun* gave the facts regarding a number of the "most prominent examples" of Ku Klux outrages. In practically all the cases cited both the offenders and the victims were Negroes and the crimes committed were either personal or social in character, quite removed from questions of political or civil rights.

During the summer and fall of 1872 the *Sun's* interest in Reconstruction centered largely around the Presidential campaign, and the efforts being made by Grant to establish a dictatorship under the Enforcement

³⁸ Aug. 15, 1871.

and Ku Klux acts. This determination was attributed to Grant's "despotic nature," and accounted for "his persistent persecution of the South":

Is it manly and noble in Gen. Grant to play the despot over an oppressed and down trodden people? These Southern people have their constitutional rights, even if they have been rebellious. He would not dare threaten such interference in the case of the State of New York, and why should he do it in the case of North Carolina, now supposed to be restored to all the constitutional rights belonging to all the States?

As in the campaign of 1868, the eleven States of the old Confederacy were the battle ground, for they held the balance of power in the Electoral College. The struggle between the Conservatives and Radicals provided evidence almost daily of Republican determination to carry the South for Grant. As North Carolina was first to hold her State election the canvass was watched with great interest. On July 10, the *Sun* gave an excellent description of conditions in the State before and since Carpetbag rule:

Before the war this State had a debt of about fourteen millions of dollars, which by a system of venal barefaced and outrageous robberies by authority of venal Legislatures has been increased to \$38,466,619, while total real and personal valuation of the State is but \$1,800,000 over and above the taxation for the current expense of the State.

. . . No one could doubt what the result would be with a fair election, and therefore Grant is filling the State with spies and informers to terrify the whites into support of his candidates under fear of a new Ku Klux crusade; while the enormous sum of \$223,000 has been taken from the public treasury and sent to the United States Marshal under the pretence of paying the expenses of his office formerly covered by \$5,000—but in reality for the purpose of corruptly influencing votes in the interest of the Administration.

The barefaced character of the robbery carried on by Grant's supporters in North Carolina is illustrated by a single fact which no advocate of Grantism will dare to deny. From the proceeds of bonds voted by the Legislature for public works to the amount of \$26,000,000 of which \$16,000,000 is now recognized as binding by the officials at Raleigh, *less than fifty thousand dollars* were applied for the improvements contemplated—the remainder of this enormous sum was stolen. As the result of their work the people are burdened with taxation such as is unknown outside of American reconstructed States; and the young men of the State, utterly discouraged by the aspect of affairs, are leaving by thousands to seek homes elsewhere.

On August 5 the *Sun* announced that "the anti-Grantites" had elected their Governor by from 1,500 to 2,000 majority, five of their eight members of Congress, and a large majority of the Legislature, "whereby a Liberal United States Senator will be secured in the place of Pool, bitter Grantite." Rejoiced by this victory it declared:

This is glory enough for one day, even if North Carolina alone were to be affected by the result. But when we reflect that it is a State which the administration confidently claimed by a large majority, and which, if they hope to make any show at all in the South, they ought to have carried, and that it is the first State which has had an opportunity to respond to the Baltimore nominations, it is no wonder that the unexpected triumph electrifies the friends of Greeley, while it fills the minions of Grant with rage and despair.

Three days later this joy was turned to vitriol by the acknowledgment "from the last returns that Caldwell, the Grant candidate, is elected Governor of North Carolina," a victory which the *Sun* believed was due in a great degree to stupendous frauds.

The *Sun* continued to give facts and figures in abundance to prove the incompetence and extravagance of the Carpetbag-Negro governments. For example, it reported that "Federal officeholders in Texas" were arresting thousands of Democrats and Liberal Republicans" with the intent of precluding "the possibility of their being at the polls to vote on election day; that Grantites were also "making arrests in great numbers on charges of Ku Kluxism in 1870 and manufacturing evidence to sustain them"; that during the State election in Texas "E. J. Davis, the Governor, used every means in his power to provoke the people to riot, in the hope of finding an excuse for throwing out the vote in anti-Grant communities." ³⁴ In addition the *Sun* claimed that Grant Republicans were stirring up race hatred.

But upon the face of the election returns, November 4, 1872, it appeared that eight out of the eleven old Confederate States preferred Grant to Greeley. The devastating facts, eloquent appeals, courageous support, and unflagging efforts of the *Sun* had been in vain. It is not surprising that Dana vented his chagrin and disappointment upon the South:

What will be the effect of all this? Hereafter, Northern and Western statesmen and journalists, and especially Liberal Republicans will either listen with

³⁴ Sept. 13, 1872.

suspicion to harrowing tales of carpetbag oppression or hearken with incredulity to Southern boasts of ability to overthrow negro supremacy. They will be apt to say: Gentlemen, you had a fair chance to deliver yourself from what you call a most degrading bondage by giving the electoral votes of your States to Dr. Greeley, but you preferred that nine and perhaps ten of your sixteen States should support Gen. Grant. . . . Gentlemen of the Reconstructed States, you have deliberately made your bed for the coming four years. Lie down in it if you please; but pray let us see no more wincing and hear no more wailing from you.

But if the Southerners, as the *Sun* itself admitted, were prevented from exercising their right to vote was it not unfair to chastise them for the results of the election? It is possible that Dana had never forgiven the South for seceding and when it disappointed him, his latent resentment proved stronger than his hatred for Grant. Many times the *Sun* wavered between these two animosities.

In 1872 Mississippi voted for National officers only. When her State election took place the following year the Democrats determined to join bolting Republicans in an effort to elect James S. Alcorn to the Governorship. His opponent, Adelbert Ames, was the regular Republican nominee. This meant a fiercely contested battle, the implications of which were pointed out by the *Sun*:

The success of Alcorn in the coming campaign would dash the hopes of many enterprising gentlemen who are burning with a desire to develop the resources of Mississippi in the North Carolina and Arkansas fashion.

It is also very generally believed in Mississippi that if Ames should be elected the old repudiated debt of Jackson's time would be assumed by the State, the belief being equally prevalent that Gen. Butler, the father-in-law of Ames, is largely interested in the repudiated bonds issued to the Union and Planters' bank, which amount to \$7,500,000 with over thirty years' accrued interest. . . .

There is another influence which will be felt in this contest, and that is the growing dislike of the colored voters for carpetbaggers. The most intelligent politicians of the Negro race in all the Southern States are beginning to understand that they have been used by unprincipled and designing whites to advance the most dishonest schemes of personal aggrandizement, and that by permitting themselves to be so used they have forfeited the good will and respect of their white neighbors. . . .

Under these circumstances it is not unreasonable to suppose that Alcorn may succeed in defeating his opponent, notwithstanding that Ames is the son-in-law of Butler and the recognized representative of Grant in Mississippi.⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Sept. 29, 1873.

The election of Ames cast the white leaders into despair. Lucius Q. C. Lamar, who represented Mississippi in Congress, chose the occasion of Sumner's death to plead for understanding between the two embittered sections. Dana fully appreciated the sincerity and literary beauty of Lamar's eulogy, writing:

It was a panegyric touching and wrought in fitting terms of eulogy, and its scope and teachings a gospel of peace. . . . It was a pleading for amity, restored harmony and a reunion of regard rudely ruptured in the angry and bitter strife of hostility. . . . As the door of the tomb closes upon the last of earth, and with the parting farewell, there comes from contention and ravage the breathings of regret and the lessons of forgiveness and oblivion for past turbulence and ruthless war. It comes, too, from a genuine representative of Southern character, frank in manner, quick in impulse, warm in friendship, and hot in resentment; and yet without an abiding rancor, which has no relenting or relief in its choler.³⁶

When the Civil Rights Bill passed the Senate on May 23, 1874, the *Sun* doubted the wisdom of the attempt to legislate individuals into racial tolerance. It also raised the question of constitutionality. "Further than this," declared the *Sun*, "there are questions of personal right which follow on this claim of unrestricted meddling by Congress."³⁷ A fourth objection to the bill, fully justified by subsequent riots in the South, was that its enactment would unnecessarily inflame public opinion just as "there is subsidence into quiet."³⁸

According to the *Sun*, the outbreaks which soon occurred were a result of the Civil Rights Bill. Since 1869 Vicksburg had been in control of Negroes and Carpetbaggers, while whites were taxed almost to the point of confiscation. A reform group tried to free the city from its plunderers, but Lieut.-Gov. Davis interfered:

. . . He undertook to disarm the white militia but the latter refused to give up their arms unless the same rule was enforced on the colored companies. Then began the troubles. . . . Emissaries were sent into the country ordering the plantation negroes to go into the city and register so as to vote at this election. Of course they would have no right to vote in a city election, but since Grant has become the patron of ballot box stuffers, any description of election fraud is considered legitimate by the managers of his party. These orders were sent in the name of Davis. Whether he authorized such a use of his

³⁶ May 6, 1874.

³⁷ May 29, 1874.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

name we do not know; but there is nothing in his character to render it improbable.

The turbulence of armed negroes in the streets of Vicksburg and threats to burn the city alarmed the white citizens, who armed and thoroughly organized themselves for defense.

The passage of Butler's Civil Rights Bill early in 1875 intensified the feeling of animosity. In Mississippi Governor Ames again called upon Grant to suppress riots in Yazoo City and Clinton, but this time was refused. The *Sun* said:

In his two applications for troops, Ames does not even pretend that there has been any insurrection against the Government of the State, nor does it in any way appear that they made the least effort to pull his wagon out of the mud before calling on Hercules for aid. That would not have suited his purpose to create an excitement on the eve of the fall election.

The whole political power of the State of Mississippi is now and has been for years in the hands of the carpetbaggers and the negroes. . . . The legislation of the State has been shaped almost exclusively for the advantage of the negro, and with a vindictive feeling against the native whites. . . . This atrocious system was encouraged at Washington in the interest of Grant. Troops and money are supplied upon the demand of an unscrupulous Governor until the country revolted at such practices, and compelled the Administration to release its iron grip from the throat of the Southern people.³⁹

These facts contributed to an overwhelming victory for the Democrats in the Mississippi election of 1875. No native of the State rejoiced more truly than the *Sun* at "The redemption of Mississippi from the rule of vice and ignorance."

. . . The northern public have not generally appreciated the extent of the stealing which was going on there, for the reason that its State debt, about \$7,000,000 is small compared with that of other States which have been raided by the carpetbaggers, yet there is none of the reconstructed States in which the condition of the whites had been more pitiable. . . . But now, the cheering news has come that in a most quiet election the Democrats have carried the State by a sweeping majority and that, too, when the colored vote outnumbers the whites by about 30,000.⁴⁰

In December Congressmen from Mississippi were admitted to the Democratic House, though Lamar was not admitted to the Senate until March, 1877. Ames was impeached, but due to the influence of Butler,

³⁹ Sept. 14, 1875.

⁴⁰ Nov. 4, 1875.

allowed to resign. The immediate and steady progress of Mississippi under Home Rule was a powerful indictment of Negro-Carpetbag government.

Arkansas and Louisiana are the "two commonwealths," the *Sun* declared, "in which President Grant's statesmanship, as exemplified in his treatment of the reconstructed States, has had ample room to manifest the genius of its author."⁴¹ Powell Clayton, a carpetbagger, was Governor of Arkansas, and according to the *Sun*, no attention was paid "to any laws relating to the elective franchise," but votes were "admitted or rejected at the polls at the sole discretion of the officers of elections, who are all members of the Clayton factions."⁴²

Although under charges of corruption, Clayton was seated in the United States Senate by his fellow Republicans, an illustration, so *Sun* readers were informed, of the degradation to which the Senate had descended. They were also warned that "the extraordinary message which President Grant sent to the United States Senate" in February, 1874, indicated that he was planning drastic action in Arkansas:

There is one very significant sentence in his message, "I earnestly ask," he says, "that Congress will take definite action in the matter to relieve the Executive from acting upon the questions which should be decided by the legislative branch of the Government." This is simply a threat that if Congress does not pass a prohibitory law to restrain him from committing an act he has no authority whatever to commit, he will overthrow another State Government by military force, and then lay all the responsibility upon Congress, as he has done in the Louisiana case.⁴³

The President's recognition of Elisha Baxter as Governor came as a surprise, for he was *persona non grata* to the Clayton wing of the party in Arkansas. "In the meantime (Joseph) Brooks, who ran on the Greeley ticket," had "gone over to the Clayton party and had undoubtedly given satisfactory assurances as to his future behavior."

Under these circumstances it becomes a thing of great importance to them to eject Baxter from office and put Brooks in his place. The means resorted to were brief and summary. A snap judgment of ouster was obtained from the Judge of an inferior court, who assumed to overrule the decision of the Supreme Court, and the action of the Legislature. Armed with a copy of this

⁴¹ May 19, 1873.

⁴² Aug. 24, 1872.

⁴³ Feb. 10, 1874.

judgment, Brooks rushed into the Executive office with a mob of his supporters, ejected Baxter by force, and took possession of the State buildings. No writ was ever issued; the authority of the Sheriff was never invoked. The whole proceeding was utterly lawless.⁴⁴

For Grant's intervention in behalf of Baxter, Dana had no word of praise. "The President could not have done otherwise," the *Sun* reported, "without confessing the truth that Arkansas had been cheated out of her electoral vote by frauds which have been perpetuated in that State with his sanction under the auspices of Senator Clayton."

In a short time Baxter secured the passage of a bill calling for a constitutional convention. The constitution was drafted in July and ratified at the fall elections. At this same time A. H. Garland, a Democrat, was chosen Governor, and along with him a Democratic legislature and four Congressmen. Home Rule had been achieved in Arkansas.

In the meantime Congress had appointed a committee headed by Luke P. Poland to investigate the Baxter-Brooks war. On February 7, 1875, the committee reported that conditions on the whole were satisfactory. The next day Grant sent a special message to Congress announcing that in his opinion Brooks had been lawfully elected in 1872 and had been illegally deprived of office; and that the adoption of the new State constitution and establishment of the State government had been revolutionary. Indirectly he suggested that Brooks be restored to office until after the Presidential campaign of 1876.

The *Sun* had no doubt as to Grant's motive. In a leading editorial on February 11, it said:

Having succeeded in bringing the great body of the Republican party to approve of his subjugation of Louisiana by the sword, Grant means to try his hand upon Arkansas soon after Congress adjourns. Having overturned its State Government with tacit, if not the cordial consent of his party, he will next on some pretext seize others of the reconstructed States by the throat and so on.

Grant's ultimate object in all this is plain. He intends to be a candidate for President in 1876, and he proposes to carry as many States as he can by the appliance which he has already used so successfully; and then to secure double sets of electoral votes in sufficient number of other States where he is beaten at the polls.

On March 2 Congress adopted a resolution guaranteeing Home Rule in

⁴⁴ May 16, 1874.

Arkansas; and this was emblazoned in the *Sun* as "A Rebuke to Boss Grant."

The suffering in South Carolina under Carpetbag rule was worse in some respects than that of any other State. In 1873 there were three times as many blacks as whites in the State legislature, the white Republicans always voting with the Negroes. During the administration of R. K. Scott and F. J. Moses, every possible method of legislative corruption was practiced. On January 18, 1873, the *Sun* graphically described the despoliation of the State:

Vast fields of the richest lands of South Carolina lying along the coast counties are now in weeds, and year by year the prospect grows darker. But these abandoned plantations, though they have ceased to be productive, do not escape the tax gatherer and the consequence is a continual succession of sheriff and tax sales, the land often selling at one dollar or even less per acre. . . .

Meantime a more ragged, worthless, and demoralized set of human beings cannot probably be found than lazy, thriftless, freedmen who have the supreme control of affairs in the State of South Carolina. In their case it appears quite evident that the exercise of the freedman's privilege has not proved much of a blessing to them or to their white neighbors either.

Dana was much concerned lest the Senate would seat the carpetbag Senator-elect, John J. Patterson. On February 27th the *Sun* announced that Patterson was to take his seat as Senator, and published the following brief sketch of his meteoric career:

Some three years since, Honest John turned up in South Carolina as naturally as a turkey buzzard alights near its shambles. . . . He was elected on the first trial and arrested for bribery the same night. The news of his election and his arrest appeared in all the journals of the country the next morning. He was bound over to appear for trial before the Circuit Court at Columbia. He still awaits that trial. . . . It remains to be seen whether this man, who has no single qualification for the office, and who comes to the Senate covered all over with jobbery and corruption will be permitted to take his seat in that body without an investigation into the means by which he secured his election. If he comes in unquestioned, so much the worse for the Senate.⁴⁵

Governor Moses had earned the title of "robber Moses," or "the great South Carolina thief." So malodorous was his administration that shrewd white Republicans realized that if they were to win the next election steps must be taken toward reform. Dana with justifiable cyn-

⁴⁵ Feb. 27, 1873.

icism had not the slightest confidence in promises of reform, and as the 1874 campaign was getting under way the *Sun* declared:

The President's friends are now repeating in this prostrate state the very game which they successfully played in 1872. . . .

This Moses was to lead the party out of the wilderness into which it had been dragged by Scott and his crew. They shouted reform, retrenchment, and everything that was good, promised to arraign and punish the thieves, and bring the State back to its ancient moorings. They succeeded, and the sickening results are before the public.

And now when indignation is justly excited over the country at enormities which shock the civilization of the age, the same gang of rascals audaciously come to the front again, demand a new license to rob the people. . . .⁴⁶

Moses was not nominated. Instead, the regular Republican party named Daniel H. Chamberlain, a carpetbagger from Massachusetts. His administration proved able but his honesty caused him to lose favor with his own party. As though Dana feared that one good Republican Governor might reflect credit upon the Grant policy of Reconstruction and thus delay Home Rule, *Sun* readers were reminded that Chamberlain, "the present Reform Governor" had helped engineer the seizure of the Greenville and Columbia Railroad, "One of the most flagrant schemes of plunder contrived and executed by the robber band who have ruined South Carolina."⁴⁷ Two years later the nomination of Wade Hampton was greeted by the *Sun* as proof that the "Democrats of South Carolina will reject all entangling alliances with the men who have so long misruled that unhappy State."⁴⁸

The election of 1876 was hotly contested. Negro rule had become so tyrannical that the Democratic whites followed the "Mississippi plan."⁴⁹ This meant resort to force, which ranged from urgent persuasion to violence. The Republicans fabricated stories of their opponents' outrages for the purpose of swinging doubtful States at the North and also resorted to force. In October Chamberlain applied for United States troops and Grant sent a force into the State. Dana anathematized this "Bayonet Electioneering" as "the first step in the preconcerted effort to carry the state for the Republicans next month." But, with characteristic respect for law and order, he wrote, "let the outraged

⁴⁶ Aug. 3, 1874.

⁴⁷ June 4, 1875.

⁴⁸ Aug. 10, 1876.

⁴⁹ Rhodes, VII, 224.

people of South Carolina make no movement except at the ballot box."⁵⁰

Both Chamberlain and Hampton claimed the election. Hampton had a majority on the face of the returns, but the State Board of Canvassers threw out the returns of two counties, Edgefield and Laurend. The *Sun* commented:⁵¹

The canvass preceding the recent election in South Carolina was from the first conducted in such a manner as to render it evident that the authorities in Washington and Columbia had determined that the Democrats should be defeated at all hazards. Although the entire State Government was in the possession of the Republican party and the State militia was composed altogether of negroes; and although the blacks largely outnumbered the whites, yet United States troops were sent into the State for the alleged purpose of preventing the intimidation of colored voters, but in reality to intimidate those white and colored men who were not inclined to vote for Hayes and Chamberlain. . . .⁵²

In Louisiana the disputed State election of 1872 had been settled by the United States army, and William P. Kellogg, Republican, proclaimed Governor:

Without an election return from a single parish in Louisiana in their possession, the board which Durell, the drunken carpet-bag United States Judge, created, have proclaimed Kellogg to be the new Governor, and the motley crowd sitting at the Mechanics Institute, a very large share of whom are negroes who can neither read nor write to be the Legislature. On the other hand, the regular board, appointed according to law, who have all the returns in their hands, declare that McEnery was duly elected Governor, and that the body sitting at Lyceum Hall is the real Legislature.⁵³

As usual, the *Sun* had the facts. According to the majority report of a Senate investigation committee McEnery had been chosen Governor on the face of the returns. To Dana, the central question was not which of the two sets of officials occupied the State Capitol, but whether the National Government should intervene through its courts and army. While the investigation of the Louisiana case was still under way the *Sun* could truthfully boast that:

The Senate committee is verifying all that The *Sun* has said for a year past

⁵⁰ Oct. 18, 1876.

⁵¹ Nov. 23, 1876.

⁵² Nov. 24, 1876.

⁵³ Dec. 14, 1872.

in regard to the utterly rotten condition of politics in the State, and in demonstration that there is not a more shameless set of scamps outside the penitentiary than the venal crowd whereof Kellogg, Packard, Casey and Pinchback are figure heads.⁵⁴

On February 25th Grant sent Congress a special message which made plain his intention to support the Kellogg government. The result was four years of political warfare, economic spoliation, and social confusion. The *Sun* remained loyal to McEnery, regarding the Kellogg administration as a spurious Government, resting entirely upon the outrageous judicial orders of Durell, the "protection of the President," and the power of Federal troops. It seldom spoke of Kellogg's government as other than a usurpation, and referred to Durell as the "drunken judge."

During April 1873, a series of riots occurred at Colfax, Louisiana, in which Negroes were burned to death in the court house. This seemed to justify Grant's support of the Kellogg government. The House sent an investigating committee headed by Hoar to obtain the facts, and according to the *Sun* General Belknap was "instructed by the President to proceed to New Orleans and thoroughly investigate the situation." It appeared that Grant would be exonerated. As a countermove the *Sun* reminded the people of the North of the more heinous crime committed by Kellogg "in setting up an illegal government despite the majority report of the Senate investigating Committee that McEnery was elected Governor."⁵⁵ Before the Committee had reported on the Colfax massacre, increasing opposition to Kellogg's government made it apparent that he could be sustained only by armed force. There was decided opposition in Congress to this. But otherwise a way must be found to withdraw the troops without discrediting the Administration. The *Sun* could not resist gloating over Grant's dilemma:

Such a heavy load to the party has this Louisiana usurpation become that many prominent Republicans, who want to live and flourish after Grant is politically dead and decomposed, are searching around for a way out of this miserable business. . . . But Grant hesitates; and why? The answer is plain. Judge Durell, Marshal Packard, Brother-in-law Casey, the usurping Kellogg, poor Pinchback, and the sundry messengers and telegraph operators, know a great deal too many facts about the original source whence the plan for

⁵⁴ Feb. 5, 1873.

⁵⁵ Apr. 28, 1873.

overthrowing the lawful Government of that State sprang, to make it safe for Grant and some of his Cabinet to allow the Kellogg fraud to be now set aside.⁵⁶

In the meantime Senator Carpenter introduced a bill for a new election in Louisiana. The "discreet Republican newspapers" objected, according to the *Sun*, on the ground that such action "would not be constitutional." They proposed instead that Judge Durell be impeached "for issuing the illegal order by virtue of which McEnery and his Legislature were driven out of the State House and Kellogg and his motley crowd were put in."

Poor Durell! So they propose to make him the scapegoat of Grant by punishing the inconsiderable agent while the far more guilty principal is allowed to go free. Doubtless Durell is a weak and worthless fellow. But he is not so weak and worthless that Grant and Williams and Casey and Kellogg and Packard combined dare lay their hands upon him unless they first hire him and pay him to keep his mouth shut while they throttle him with articles of impeachment. . . . And if he is impeached and don't "squeal," rely upon it he has been hired to keep still.⁵⁷

While the North was still aroused over the Colfax massacre, the Conshatta massacre occurred; and as if to further vindicate the President in policing Louisiana, a riot followed at New Orleans. Barricades were erected and a battle ensued with the police. The citizens gained possession of the State House, and Conservative leaders began reorganizing the government. The Administration at Washington again intervened in behalf of Kellogg, and the Conservatives were forced to drop their arms and prepare to fight the matter out at the ballot box.

The *Sun* applauded the Conservatives' surrender to Major-General Emery. This proved, it said, that the uprising was not against the authority of the United States, but was an act of desperation against Grantism. Whether the President was "drunk or sober" when he issued his proclamation "it must stand as law until revoked." For "the misuse or abuse of this power . . . there is no remedy save impeachment."⁵⁸

The *Sun's* enthusiasm on November 4, 1874 over the revolt against Grant equaled its joy six years before when he was elected President. Now the victory of the Democrats was hailed as "the end of Grant and of Grantism" and "the finishing blow to a third term for Grant." Not

⁵⁶ Jan. 28, 1874.

⁵⁷ Feb. 16, 1874.

⁵⁸ Sept. 18, 1874.

only had Grant's candidates for Governor and Congressmen been turned out of office in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New York, but

Perhaps the most astonishing of all the amazing results is the revolution which took place in Louisiana on Monday. The Conservatives, as the Opposition call themselves, elected their State ticket, a decisive majority of the Legislature, and five of the six Congressmen. In this Congress the delegation was wholly Republican. The Grant party have now saved only one in the general wreck. This impressive verdict of an aroused and indignant people is largely due to the course pursued by the negro voters. They did the business for Kellogg, Casey, and Packard. It is admitted on all hands that nearly one-fourth of the negroes voted with the Conservatives. This is the end of Kellogg and his wretched crew. One-fourth of the active force of the army did not suffice to save them. Even bayonets could not force carpet-bag rascalities down the throats of the people.

Victory for the Conservatives at the ballot box did not restore Louisiana to Home Rule. The Kellogg ring made accusations of intimidation and fraud. Grant ordered Gen. Sheridan to New Orleans to ascertain the true conditions and assume military control, which he did on January 4, 1875. The next day he wired the President assuring him that he could preserve peace and referring to certain people of the State as "banditti." In a second dispatch he elaborated his characterization and suggested that "If Congress would pass a bill declaring them banditti they could be tried by a military commission." Belknap assured Sheridan of the Administration's complete confidence. When Sheridan's dispatches were published a wave of indignation swept over the North. The *Sun* helped give it vigorous expression:

We learn from trustworthy sources that it is the purpose of the carpet-bag authorities in Louisiana to count in the Republican candidates for State offices with a majority, if not all of the Republicans who ran for Congress, and a sufficient number of the defeated nominees to the Legislature, to control that body, and thereby prevent the impeachment of Kellogg and secure the United States Senator. Grant is in the plot and has agreed to carry it through with the bayonets of the army! . . . The people should distinctly understand that this is not a question of the preservation of order in New Orleans, but of conspiracy against the property and liberties of the people the chief conspirator being the President of the United States.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Jan. 9, 1876.

The *Sun's* attacks upon General Sheridan are striking evidence of Dana's outraged sensibilities. Dana had long admired Sheridan and, when Johnson removed him from the fifth military reconstruction district, had come to his defense. Now he put this old friendship aside, condemning Sheridan in sharpest terms.

On January 15 a House Committee declared that the action of the Kellogg returning board "on the whole was arbitrary, unjust, and in our opinion illegal."⁶⁰ The *Sun* rightly pronounced the report a "crushing answer to the misrepresentations and partisanship of the President's message" to Congress.

In the end, Congress listened with relief to a compromise proposed by William A. Wheeler. By its terms the Conservatives were given a majority in the House, the Senate being left Republican. This agreement was accompanied by a resolution of the legislature not to disturb the Kellogg government during the remainder of its term. As the *Sun* well knew, the Wheeler Compromise did not reach the heart of the difficulty in Louisiana. It was accepted semi-officially by the Conservative members of the legislature, and according to the *Sun*, was faithfully observed as long as Kellogg remained in power; but, it did not prevent Louisiana from becoming a bone of contention in the Hayes-Tilden dispute.

The nomination of Marshal Packard for Governor in 1876 was regarded by Dana as conclusive proof that the Republicans intended to use the bayonet to carry the State. After accurately predicting the methods to be used in defeating Tilden in Louisiana, the *Sun* continued: "Well, if the supporters of Hayes in the North can afford to carry elections in the South by such methods, we think the friends of Tilden can afford to have them."⁶¹ This was followed by a leading editorial upon the South as a whole:

The proofs multiply that the Republican managers will try to carry four or five Southern States this fall with the bayonet. The States to which we more particularly refer are Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama and Arkansas. They may also find it necessary to use the same means to avert defeat in Florida, and even in South Carolina, in both of which the party is weakened by bitter feuds.⁶²

⁶⁰ Rhodes, VII, 114.

⁶¹ July 7, 1876.

⁶² July 19, 1876.

A week prior to the elections, *Sun* readers were told that the reason the Republicans raised the bloody shirt was:

not because the situation demanded it, but simply for the reason that, in the desperate condition of the Republican party, the leaders thought that to rekindle animosities smouldering under the ashes of ten years was their *dernier resort* in an election wherein the merits were all on the side of the supporters of Tilden and reform.⁶³

Dana never for a moment doubted that Tilden had been elected. Immediately after election day the *Sun* pronounced its verdict:

The States that are now in dispute between the two political parties are three, namely, Florida, Louisiana and South Carolina; all of them, it will be noticed Southern States, and all of them since the war in possession of the Republican party.

There can be no moral doubt how these three States have now voted. They must all have gone Democratic by ample majorities of the people, because there is no reason why they should not have shared in that general reaction which has successively wrested from Republican control all the other Southern States.⁶⁴

Later the Governors of these States telegraphed the New York papers that Hayes had carried them by safe majorities. In the *Sun* they were promptly labeled "the three lying governors."

On the face of the returns in Louisiana Tilden had carried the State; but the returning board gave the electoral vote to Hayes. The board was made up of the same men who had been condemned by the House Foster Committee and since 1867 James Madison Wells, its chairman, "had done the dirty work of Louisiana politics." ⁶⁵ According to the *Sun*:

The votes actually cast in that State show a majority of about 7,700 for three of the Tilden electors, and of about 9,700 for the other five. To give the eight electoral votes to Hayes it will be necessary for the Kellogg's Returning Board to throw out parishes enough to reverse the majority of 9,700.⁶⁶

On November 10, forty-eight "visiting Statesmen" were invited by Grant and Abram S. Hewitt to go to New Orleans to witness the counting of the votes. On the second of December the Board went into secret

⁶³ Oct. 31, 1876.

⁶⁴ Nov. 11, 1876.

⁶⁵ Rhodes, VII, 231.

⁶⁶ Nov. 23, 1876.

session. Three days before the official count was completed Packard telegraphed West at Washington: "Democratic boast entirely fallacious. . . . Have seen Wells who says 'Board will return Hayes sure. Have no fear.' " ⁶⁷ But before either Packard's telegram or the decision of the Board was made known the *Sun* wrote:

We have no doubt that Mr. Hayes will today receive the eight stolen votes of Louisiana with entire complacency. They are necessary to his election, and it is a venerable legal maxim that necessity knows no law. To steal these votes for Hayes has cost a terrible struggle, and his agents in the transaction deserve valuable compensation at his hands. ⁶⁸

The same day at New Orleans the Hayes electors declared his election by majorities ranging from 4,626 to 4,712.

When Hayes succeeded Grant, March 4, 1877, he inherited the implacable hatred of the *Sun*. From the moment the "Fraudulent President" took office, Dana followed his course with a retributory eye. The *Sun's* leading editorial of March 6, 1877 began in characteristic vein:

Mr. Hayes, who has not been elected President of the United States, but who has twice taken the oath of office, as if to make up by abundant swearing his essential lack of votes, delivered an inaugural address at Washington yesterday.

In both Hayes' letter of acceptance and inaugural address he pledged himself to restore Home Rule to the South.

But the *Sun* insisted Hayes' observations on this subject were nothing but dreary platitudes. His policy was labeled a "scheme" aimed at the abandonment of the Negro by the Republican party. A little later a *Sun* correspondent at Washington described the means by which the Negro was to be dispensed with by the party; "by bribing with offices Southern men hitherto regarded as Democrats, and by establishing an enormous system of corruption in the form of subsidies to railroads and other enterprises of the kind." ⁶⁹

In March, 1877, Negro carpetbag rule continued in two States: Louisiana and South Carolina. Of the two, the situation in Louisiana was more difficult, and before taking action Hayes sent an impartial, bi-partisan commission of five to New Orleans to ascertain the facts and temper of

⁶⁷ Rhodes, VII, 232.

⁶⁸ Dec. 6, 1876.

⁶⁹ Mar. 15; 13; 1877.

the people. The *Sun* was skeptical. Was it necessary to send this "Jobbing Commission to Louisiana?" Mr. Hayes had already "expressed a full knowledge of the whole complication in his inaugural address, and voluntarily pledged himself to prove the only remedy needed by ending the military intervention which had caused all the trouble." Surely "the pretext of collecting information . . . is too puerile to be worthy of serious notice." ⁷⁰

According to instructions given the Commission by Secretary Evarts, it was plain the President desired to put an end to military intervention in Louisiana.⁷¹ No one could have been more in sympathy with this purpose than Dana; and yet, because it was Hayes' doing, he could see only ulterior motives. The object of the Commission, said the *Sun*, "was to delay a final settlement of the Louisiana question until a bargain could be patched up which should conciliate Packard and blunt one of the horns of Hayes' dilemma." ⁷²

Before the Louisiana Commission reported, Hayes tackled the problem in South Carolina. Wade Hampton, Democrat, and Chamberlain, Republican, both claimed election to the Governorship, while two legislative bodies contended for recognition. On March 28, Hayes summoned Hampton and Chamberlain to Washington for a conference. Less than two weeks later a Presidential order recognized Hampton as rightful Governor. When this was done, logically the *Sun* should have commended Hayes for his courage and accepted with enthusiasm the restoration of Home Rule in South Carolina. Instead Dana met the news with an ugly insinuation against Hayes' character:

It is something to say in favor of Daniel H. Chamberlain that he spurned—as he surely did—the bribe of a foreign mission offered him by the wonderful civil service reformer who now occupies the White House. . . . ⁷³

Upon reaching New Orleans the President's Commission found the Nicholls' government installed in the Odd Fellow's Hall; the Capitol being occupied by Packard. Nicholls had general public support, while Packard required an armed force to protect him. On April 20, ten days after these facts were telegraphed to Hayes, the Federal troops were withdrawn from the State House and the Packard legislature dispersed.

⁷⁰ Mar. 28, 1877.

⁷¹ Rhodes, VIII, 9.

⁷² Apr. 7, 1877.

⁷³ Apr. 14, 1877.

Home rule in the South was an accomplished fact. But there was no rejoicing in *Sun* editorials:

The business of finishing up the Packard combination in Louisiana was completed yesterday, and the Democratic Administration of Nicholls remains as the only Government of that State.

The question considered by Mr. Hayes and his Commissioners has not been who was rightfully elected, but simply who had the power to maintain himself . . . finding Nicholls to be the stronger in this regard, they withdrew the troops, and left the Republican governor to his fate. . . .

By letting Packard go down, Hayes confesses that his own claim is founded upon fraud.⁷⁴

Dana's attitude toward the various phases of Reconstruction appears to have been determined by his hatred for Johnson, Grant and Hayes. In order to condemn these three Presidents, the *Sun* contradicted itself and frequently changed its mind on fundamental issues making it seem to lose all semblance of principle. But in disinterested devotion to the welfare of the country as a whole, the *Sun* was conspicuously consistent in a period when standards of public service were at their lowest ebb. Whatever personal motives at this time may have animated Dana, there was one benefit from his course: The *Sun* told the truth about Reconstruction under Grant. If readers were made wary by *Sun* inconsistencies, at least their daily reading was, for the most part, an accurate picture of Southern chaos. Other New York City papers were either swayed by Republican loyalty or lacked the skill to present the facts as Dana did. The circulation of the *Sun* increased during the period, until it reached its greatest popularity. Undoubtedly Dana made a splendid contribution to a Northern understanding of the South, although it is debatable whether he, as an individual, felt much of the sympathy which the *Sun* called forth.

The *Sun* fully realized what Republican Reconstruction was doing to the South and what retribution would follow. Perhaps nowhere can there be found a more concise and accurate appraisal of the Reconstruction period than the one given in the *Sun* on May 4, 1885:

In the North, Republicanism has been in its way a party of principles; in the South, it has been from first to last only a party of plunder, a conspiracy of rascals to exploit for their own advantage the ignorance of a race which be-

⁷⁴ Apr. 21, 1877.

lieved in its simplicity that the Republicans of the North had a peculiar claim to its regard.

The history of the Republican failure in the Southern States must be melancholy reading to even the staunchest Republican. Never was a great opportunity more wantonly thrown away. If Wilkes Booth's bullet had missed its mark, that history might have had a different and more honorable course. A noble toleration and patience were in Abraham Lincoln, and if he had lived, he would have labored for the full restoration of the Union, and not merely for the temporary aggrandizement of his party. The South had no unkindly feeling for him, and he might have done much to give Republicanism a sound and honest beginning there. But the rabid politicians to whom the work of reconstruction fell, had little of his magnanimity. The controlling sentiment of the North was a desire to secure the rights of the colored race. The main idea of the Republican leaders was to secure the permanent ascendancy of the Republican party. Some of them were disinterested in their views, but it is none the less true that the Republicans of the North were adroitly played upon in the interest of political mercenaries in the South, and so Southern Republicanism became, to borrow John Randolph's phrase, a combination of the Puritan and the Blackleg. The Puritanism of the North, in part honestly misled, in part through excess of party spirit, supported the adventurers who made tools of the Negro to plunder States, fill their own pockets, and send Administration Senators and Representatives to Washington. The natural consequences followed. Republicanism became identified in the minds of Southerners with disregard of the Constitution, with the most indecent extravagance and dishonesty, with the supremacy of ignorance, and the degradation of the public service. A hatred of Republicanism which years may be insufficient to remove, grew up in States where Republicanism might have made itself respected, if not dominant. The humane sentiment in the North found out that it had been tricked; the Republicans were forced to give up every Southern State, and now the last visible sign of the Republican kleptocracy is about to be swept away.

The moral of this history is plain. It teaches that a party must commend itself to the moral sense of the people or it can come to no abiding strength among them. The moment the cordon of Federal bayonets is broken which supports a party not firmly and naturally rooted in popular respect, that moment the party falls. The Republican party never tried to win any moral support in the South. It depended upon frauds at the ballot boxes or upon force. Its only means of propagandism has been the promise of Federal office. All that it has gained in twenty years is a reputation that twenty years of good behavior cannot make savory.

CHAPTER IV

"GRANTISM"

Grantism is compounded in low greed, obtuse moral sentiment, shoddy display, the use of public offices for private gain, enriching all your relatives at the expense of the Government, the ignoring of all the better public opinion, the conception that high office is a reward and not an obligation imposed-in fine, that the Government is to be administered in the selfish interest of the governors and for their aggrandizement.¹

As we have seen, the *Sun* about-faced on General Grant with astonishing rapidity. Beginning with hero worship, it turned, in March, 1869, to mild criticism; then soon began to indulge in a stream of personal abuse that reached its greatest volume in the campaign of 1872. After Grant retired to private life its attacks ceased, except for an occasional gesture of mock sympathy over his misfortunes and a hypocritical last tribute by Dana in the payment of his funeral expenses.

Many readers of the *Sun* and contemporary editors, with some later historians,² believed that this sudden change in attitude was due to an incident about the time of Grant's inauguration. Dana had been informed on responsible authority that he was to be made Collector of the Customs of New York City.³ He did not receive the anticipated appointment, but a month later George S. Boutwell wrote him, offering in place of the profitable collectorship a position of little significance. To Boutwell's rather apologetic letter Dana sent a courteous and dignified refusal, in which he expressed regret at his inability to accept, and maintained that his position as the editor of an independent newspaper was more suitable to him. Both letter and answer appeared on the pages of the *Sun*.⁴

The press throughout the country accused Dana of "bearing a grudge" because of his disappointment. To these charges the *Sun* replied with quick wit and easy humor, maintaining that if Grant could have had the

¹ The *Sun*, Mar. 8, 1876.

² Peck, Harry Thurston, *Twenty Years of the Republic*, 252-265; Oberholtzer, Ellis Paxson, *A History of the United States*, III, 488.

³ Wilson, James Harrison, *The Life of Charles A. Dana*, 407.

⁴ Apr. 19, 1869.

support of the *Sun* upon the simple condition of giving an office to its editor, he was a “fool” not to give it.⁵ However, the *Sun* was not always amused by these charges. Occasionally it gave an explanation for its loss of faith in Grant. The *Sun* had not changed; it was, as it always had been, the same fearless, non-partisan, independent, people’s paper. But Grant, after his elevation to the Presidency, had been affected by “sudden and enormous prosperity, unbounded flattery, and a childish admiration of wealth and wealthy men.”⁶ It is impossible to say whether the *Sun*’s attacks came from personal disappointment or a patriotic desire for reform. Dana would have strengthened his position if he had not informed the public of the many services for Grant in return for which he had received nothing.⁷

In February, 1869, Dana, not yet having changed his opinion of Grant, tried to dispel the apprehensions which the president-elect had aroused by his secrecy regarding his Cabinet. The *Sun* remarked, “His Cabinet is his own affair; he should settle it for himself.”⁸ On March 6, Grant’s selections were made known. Though disappointed, Dana consoled the country with the following remarks:

The first impression caused by this cabinet is one of surprise. It not only differs entirely from all previous conjectures respecting its composition, but it departs from the usage of all our former Presidents in the small number of gentlemen that it contains who enjoy a national reputation as statesmen, trained by habit to legislative, executive and political affairs. Indeed, while three of its members,—Washburne, Creswell and Cox—may be classed as belonging to this category, there is but one of them, Mr. Washburne, who has for any length of time performed a conspicuous part upon the political stage. The others are men of business, chosen because Gen. Grant regards them as eminently fitted for the duties which he has assigned them. . . . This is a working and not an ornamental Cabinet. It contains a great deal of business faculty, and comparatively little experience in the art and science of politics.⁹

Four days later it was apparent that the *Sun* was losing faith in the President:

In spite of Gen. Grant’s positive declaration to the contrary, he has done little else for several weeks past than to offer seats in his Cabinet to a great

⁵ Oct. 7, 1869; Apr. 15, 1869.

⁶ Apr. 12, 1871.

⁷ June 20, 1870.

⁸ Feb. 10, 1869.

⁹ Mar. 6, 1869.

number of gentlemen, who, for reasons entirely satisfactory to themselves, have invariably declined his proffers in spite of all the pressure he could bring to bear.

The era of Grantism had begun. In a short time the *Sun* was asserting that, with the exception of George Boutwell, regarded as late as November, 1869, as the "one successful statesman" of the Administration, Grant had chosen poorly. Boutwell records that Dana's friendship even with him was soon broken. When they met, Dana passed him without speaking and not until 1887, after Grant's death, did they resume their friendship.¹⁰

In the opinion of the *Sun*, Hamilton Fish was the worst cabinet choice. The Secretary of State, appointed shortly after Washburne resigned, was approved by the Senate while his telegram of refusal was on its way from New York to Washington. Yet the *Sun* asserted that Fish had sought the appointment and had received it not "because he is fit for it, but because he gave presents to General Grant."¹¹

Dana further charged that Adolph Borie, chosen Secretary of the Navy against his own wish and that of many leading Republicans, knew "that the only reason for asking him to take such an office was that he had contributed largely toward giving Gen. Grant a house."¹² George M. Robeson, who soon succeeded Borie, was said to have paid for his appointment with a gift of five hundred dollars. In reviewing the case, the *Sun* concluded that Robeson's appointment was a doubtful compliment to Borie. Since Borie gave five thousand dollars, was "it not disrespectful to appoint," as his successor, "a man who gave only five hundred?" A sharper thrust appeared shortly: "It is announced that 'Mrs. Grant will receive every Tuesday afternoon during the winter, beginning with Jan. 10.' President Grant will receive anytime and anything whenever anything is offered."¹³

Bribery, according to the *Sun*, was not confined to the Cabinet. Moses Grinnell and Thomas Murphy purchased their respective appointments to the New York Custom House through gifts of houses.¹⁴ William D. Farrand, armed with a present worth \$600 and a fine carriage robe, made a deal through one of the President's many brothers-in-law for the Callao

¹⁰ Boutwell, George S., *Reminiscences of Sixty Years in Public Affairs*, I, 295.

¹¹ Jan. 8, 1870.

¹² Apr. 27, 1869; cf. Hesselstine, William B., *Ulysses S. Grant*, 160.

¹³ Jan. 9, 1871.

¹⁴ Feb. 22, 1870; Sept. 20, 1871; Hesselstine, *Grant*, 153.

Consulate,¹⁵ while Henry D. Cooke traded twenty-five thousand dollars worth of Seneca Sandstone Stock for the Governorship of the District of Columbia.¹⁶ The appointment of Chief Justice Waite, according to the *Sun*, had been made for the purpose of balancing the Supreme Court in favor of Jay Cooke & Company.¹⁷

In every instance, Grant the "Great Gift-taker" got something out of the deal. The *Sun* gave its version of the method of Grant's appointments:

Gen. Grant keeps two lists of names always by him, both of which he consults before making any important appointments; one is a list of contributors to the purchase of his several houses presented to him, and the other a list of stockholders of *The Sun*. . . . No man, it is said, can receive any appointment—blood and marriage relations excepted—unless his name is found upon the list of the donors to the President, and is *not* found on the list of the stockholders of *The Sun*.¹⁸

Grant was also accused of finding places of emolument for his father, brothers, first and second cousins, and his in-laws who seemed to infest the country. By 1870 the *Sun* had set up what it called a "Court Register." In reply to its appeal for information regarding "any cousin or brother-in-law" omitted, or inaccurately described,¹⁹ letters were received at the *Sun* office or printed in anti-Grant papers. The register finally totaled "forty worthless relations," although the *Sun* never listed by name the entire "royal family."

One of the most striking instances of the President's devotion to his family, the *Sun* wrote, "is the appointment of B. L. Wymans" whose wife enjoys the honor "of being an own cousin to the President himself; accordingly, Wymans was taken from his humble employment, transported to Newport and made Postmaster."²⁰ Of our Minister to Guatemala, Silas A. Hudson, the *Sun* said:

He is a cousin of Gen. Grant, was formerly a cattle driver in Oregon, knows a great deal less of the English language than the law allows, served on Grant's staff the last two years of the war, is a plucky, rough, ignorant, manly fellow,

¹⁵ July 18, 1872.

¹⁶ Nov. 27, 1871; cf. Hesselstine, *Grant*, 280.

¹⁷ Jan. 21, 1874.

¹⁸ June 17, 1869.

¹⁹ Nov. 30, 1870.

²⁰ Oct. 20, 1870.

about as fit for a foreign mission as a crowbar is for a cambric needle. Nobody but his cousin would have invented the idea of appointing him.²¹

The Rev. M. J. Kramer, whose wife was a sister of Grant, was appointed United States Consul at Leipzig "in recognition of his relationship to the President."²² Grant's father, Jesse R. Grant, was retained as the Postmaster of Covington. The *Sun* felt the President should be given a vote of thanks that "Jesse" had not been made a Senator.²³ Other relatives, the Corbins, the Dents, the Caseys, and the Sharpes, enjoyed extraordinarily large fees. The *Sun* reported that when Gen. Robert Schenck sent a friend to intercede with Grant regarding an inexcusable appointment in the Internal Revenue Department, the President replied: "I am sorry for Gen. Schenck, but the man he objects to is one of my second cousins."²⁴

The diplomats of the Grant Administration were no more pleasing to Dana than were the cabinet members. Cartoons of our foreign ministers might be considered reprehensible, but they were fairly accurate²⁵ and drawn with skill and wit. These ministers had to be recalled and replaced by better men whenever some business of state was to be undertaken. If Dana could have had his way, all would have been immediately dismissed, with the exception of our Minister to Paraguay, "where an American Minister would mean something," but where, under the slack and lawless system of Grantism "we had no representative."²⁶

Contrary to the *Sun's* expectation, instead of replacing Reverdy Johnson, our Minister to England, with a man who would "never so far forget what is his due to the people he represents as to maintain friendly intercourse with their malignant foes,"²⁷ Grant appointed John Lothrop Motley, whose conduct was far worse than Johnson's had ever been. He made so many friendly speeches that it became necessary for the *Sun* to remind him that he "should cease talking and commence thinking";²⁸ or else he dawdled about London, cultivating the aristocracy, until in despair Dana was goaded into saying, "such twaddle, such toadyism for

²¹ Apr. 14, 1869.

²² Sept. 12, 1870.

²³ Feb. 16, 1870.

²⁴ Oct. 17, 1870.

²⁵ Oberholtzer, II, 222, N, citing Moran's MS. Diary in the Library of Congress.

²⁶ Mar. 28, 1870.

²⁷ Nov. 5, 1868.

²⁸ May 28, 1869.

titled people, such power of sophistical buncombe, such indiscretion in practical affairs could not be matched elsewhere." ²⁹

Far worse than Motley's incapacity was the change in Elihu B. Washburne, formerly the "very incarnation of retrenchment and economy." He became a great European tourist and a magnificent spender of money.³⁰ Our minister to Austria, John Jay, carried on absurd family quarrels in order to attract public attention. The *Sun* was disgusted, declaring that "it is painful to reflect that President Grant chose such a man for the Austrian mission in preference to William Cullen Bryant." ³¹

Our consul-general in Havana, Thomas Biddle, was a "fool" and had not "sense enough to manage with success the most commonplace affairs. No judicious man would wish to employ him as agent in business where fifty dollars was at stake . . . his opinion, except perhaps on such questions as the weather, is worthless, his temper is irritable and capricious, and his actions are apt to be extremely silly." ³² Gen. Hugh Ewing, our Minister Resident at the Hague, was intemperate.³³ William A. Pile, Grant's choice for Brazil, knew no language except English and even that none too well.³⁴ Robert C. Schenck, who followed Motley as Minister to England, engaged in London in the business of selling the shares of the Emma Silver Mining Company, "using the influence of his official dignity to put off those shares upon English buyers. . . ." The fact that Schenck himself received on credit a large quantity of those shares in consideration for his services, with a guarantee of dividends, deepened the disgrace that the affair cast upon the Government.³⁵

With corruption and nepotism widespread in Washington it was not surprising that rings, frauds, and swindles developed in every department of the Government. But before the *Sun* had time to begin in earnest its exposures, there occurred an amazing plot to corner the nation's gold, the culmination of which is known in history as "Black Friday." ³⁶

Jay Gould, the absolute ruler of the Erie Railroad with James Fisk, Jr., conceived of a scheme to get still richer by raising the price of gold. An accompanying high price on wheat would result, thereby inducing the

²⁹ Dec. 17, 1869; Oberholtzer, II, 440-441.

³⁰ Oct. 22, 1869.

³¹ Dec. 9, 1869.

³² Jan. 13, 1870.

³³ Jan. 18, 1870.

³⁴ Apr. 16, 1869.

³⁵ Apr. 29, 1872.

³⁶ Sept. 24, 1869: cf. Adams, Henry, *Chapters of Erie and Other Essays*, 100-134.

farmers of the West to transport their grain across the country by way of the Erie Railroad. At the time Gould and Fisk were hatching this scheme, the United States Treasury commonly held about 100 millions of the gold supply of the country and was in the habit of selling about 5 millions each month. The drawback to the daring plan lay in the fact that Boutwell, as Secretary of the Treasury, was always careful to give previous notice of these monthly sales. Gould shrewdly saw the desirability of cultivating the acquaintance of the President and interesting him in raising the price of gold. Accordingly, the two men established social relations with Grant and his family.

As early as September 3, 1869, the *Sun* had scented the proposed conspiracy and was complaining against any combinations to raise the price of gold. By September 20th, when Gould and Fisk had raised the price of gold above its normal level, the *Sun* said, "This is one of the most immoral and pernicious conspiracies ever contracted in Wall Street. . . . Combinations which tamper with the circulating medium of a country are not only demoralizing but criminal. It is the duty of the Treasury to block the game of this unscrupulous ring." But no action by the Government was taken until September 24th, "Black Friday." Only after a panic in Wall Street that ruined hundreds and aroused intense excitement was a dispatch from Washington received, giving the Government's order to sell four millions of gold.

In the first days following the crisis the *Sun* exonerated Grant from complicity in the gold conspiracy, laying at his door no worse error than indiscretion. It said, "No evidence has been adduced as yet which is incompatible with his innocence."³⁷ But it had no sympathy with A. R. Corbin, Grant's brother-in-law, and believed that Butterfield, the Assistant Treasurer, was deeply involved. It urged the latter's immediate resignation and suggested that the President should not refill his place with anyone who had previously given him money or houses. Boutwell, who believed Butterfield guilty of dishonesty, persuaded Grant to dismiss him from office. The *Sun* then took credit for Butterfield's removal. "We said that Gen. Butterfield must go. He has gone."³⁸

But the *Sun* had not said its last word in regard to the President's part in the gold conspiracy. Either because of his increasing antagonism for

³⁷ Oct. 11, 1869; Rhodes, James F., *History of the United States*, VI, 256; cf. Oberholtzer, II, 576; Hesselstine, *Grant*, 179.

³⁸ Oct. 26, 1869.

Grant, or because more facts were procured, Dana came to agree with the *World* that the President was guilty. In 1871, the *Sun* stated that although "President Grant has denied that he had anything to do with the gold conspiracy, except to break it down, the facts proved in the case do not bear out his denial . . . he still stands before the tribunal of the people with the guilt of this unparalleled conspiracy upon him."³⁹ Four months later, in making an attack upon the *New York Times* for defending corruption, it concluded a long editorial review of the case with these words:

. . . If there is any other view of the affair which can relieve Gen. Grant of the stain of corruption will someone please lay it before the country? We do not ask this of the *Times*. That journal has made out so badly attempting to explain Grant's nepotism that it cannot be expected to undertake a more serious case; but if there be any apology or any evidence which can clear Grant of the guilt of dishonorable connection with the gold conspiracy they should be brought forward at once.⁴⁰

The President himself, although, in the *Sun's* opinion, directly or indirectly responsible for every fraud, was usually too far in the background to be personally attacked. So the *Sun* concentrated on the cabinet members. For eight years the Navy Department took perhaps the greatest share of attacks and abuse.

Various editorials described and ridiculed the activities of Grant's first ill-chosen Secretary of the Navy.⁴¹ According to the *Sun*, Adolph Borie put all the work of the department on the shoulders of Admiral Porter, his assistant, and retained for himself only the hollow title.⁴² But, to Dana's relief, Borie soon left the Cabinet and by June, 1869, George M. Robeson was appointed in his place.⁴³ Although his nomination, the *Sun* maintained, would elicit general inquiry as to who he might be, Robeson did possess energy of character. However, the *Sun* soon began to discover his faults. He enjoyed sailing in a yacht at the people's expense while the business of the Navy was managed in a most unsatisfactory manner. Our sailors, instead of being guarded against yellow fever, were persistently ordered to places where the disease was known to be raging and kept there until disabled. The Naval Academy, at Admiral

³⁹ Sept. 23, 1871; cf. Adams, Henry, *Education*, 268-272.

⁴⁰ Jan. 3, 1872.

⁴¹ Apr. 26-27, 1869; May 28, 1869.

⁴² June 5, 1869.

⁴³ Oberholtzer, II, 220.

Porter's direction, continued work on Sunday, which the *Sun* thought an offense to the moral and religious sentiment of the country.⁴⁴ By December of Grantism, year one, the *Sun* demanded that Robeson be dismissed⁴⁵ and that the reckless expenditures of money by the Navy Department be investigated.⁴⁶ It charged Grant with responsibility for "the lawlessness, wastefulness, inefficiency and disorder which make our Navy Department a joke to Democrats, a shame and peril to Republicans, and a disgrace to all patriotic Americans."⁴⁷

On March 11, 1872, the *Sun* flatly charged that Robeson had stolen a vast amount of money from the United States Treasury:

. . . We are not able to say with exactness how much money he has stolen from the Treasury. But taking the facts already within our knowledge, a rough calculation shows that his robberies do not amount to less than *one million four hundred thousand dollars*.

One count against Robeson had to do with Perine Secor & Co., and Zeno Secor, the builders of the Tecumseh, Mahopac, and Manhattan vessels constructed during the Civil War. The accounts for the building of the vessels were closed, payment of claims had been made, and receipts for payment in full were in existence. The Secretary, however, "in flagrant violation of the statute which forbade him so to appropriate a cent,"⁴⁸ was "determined to steal ninety-three thousand dollars from the Treasury under pretence of paying it as an additional allowance upon the vessels built by the Secors."⁴⁹

Such bold charges by the *Sun* could not but have an effect on contemporary newspapers and on Washington itself. The Albany *Evening Times* and the Newark *Daily Advertiser* maintained that it was unnecessary to take any notice of the *Sun's* exposures.⁵⁰ But on March 22, 1872, the *Sun* triumphantly announced that a Congressional committee, investigating charges against Robeson, had invited Dana to "appear before it and make any statements likely to lead to a full discovery of all the facts." Dana feared an unfair investigation and began immediately to prepare the public for a possible vindication of Robeson. One witness,

⁴⁴ Nov. 17, 1869.

⁴⁵ Dec. 24, 1869.

⁴⁶ Nov. 29, 1869.

⁴⁷ May 21, 1870.

⁴⁸ Feb. 4, 1873.

⁴⁹ Mar. 2, 1872.

⁵⁰ Feb. 27, 1872; Mar. 11, 1872.

he asserted, had died and another had been stricken with paralysis by terror of the *Sun's* exposures.⁵¹ But, even against odds, the *Sun* maintained that it could prove Robeson guilty and Dana announced his intention of appearing before the committee.

The committee report, partisan that it was, did not convict Robeson of personal corruption although it censured him for the laxity of his official methods.⁵² The New York *Evening Post* remarked that "Secretary Robeson seems to be open to criticisms in that he reopened a case which had been settled, and the new claim was settled under his sanction in an irregular way, but there is no proof of any improper motive on his part."⁵³ The *Sun* claimed that Dana's charges had been maintained according to the strict rules of criminal pleading.⁵⁴ It said:

\$93,000!

Little Robeson Horner sat in a corner
Fingering Treasury pie:
He put in his thumb, and pulled out a plum
And said, "What a sly rogue am I!"⁵⁵

The *Sun* continued its charges, and three months later presented a detailed list of misappropriations totaling \$318,719,580, which it claimed had all been proved against Robeson.⁵⁶ The conclusion of the editorial was: "It will be remembered that the main facts above set forth have been proved before a committee made up by Speaker Blaine, and packed with Robeson's friends, on purpose to whitewash him and save Gen. Grant from the political damage which could not fail to follow the public demonstration that these things are so."⁵⁷

The Treasury Department was first ruled by George S. Boutwell, a man without financial training but possessed of personal integrity.⁵⁸ Perhaps his knowledge of his unfitness for the post made him first refuse the appointment and then accept it unwillingly. If he had any misgivings as to his ability, Dana had not and was quick to inform the public that:

⁵¹ Mar. 22, 1872.

⁵² O'Brien, Frank M., *The Story of the Sun*, 304-305.

⁵³ Apr. 5, 1872.

⁵⁴ Apr. 8, 1872.

⁵⁵ Apr. 13, 1872.

⁵⁶ The *Nation* said: "He [Dana] was obliged to confess that he had no personal knowledge of the truth or falsehood of the charges himself, and could not produce anybody who had." Apr. 11, 1872.

⁵⁷ July 26, 1872.

⁵⁸ Rhodes, VI, 238.

. . . there is no statesman in New England better qualified than Gov. Boutwell to discharge the onerous function of the Treasury Department. To a mind of great clearness he unites an extraordinary talent for the details of administration. His fidelity to every duty and his character for integrity and patriotism are worthy of the most entire confidence. . . . Should he be appointed, the people of every section will feel that the most important post in the Cabinet has been intrusted to one who can be relied upon in every respect.⁵⁹

While Boutwell was in office the *Sun* never completely abandoned its high opinion of him. It pointed out that the retrenchment and economy of the Administration were due "very much to Mr. Boutwell and not at all to Gen. Grant."⁶⁰ It maintained that in view of the company which he kept Boutwell's virtue was lustrous. It criticized harshly his financial theories, but not until after he had left the Cabinet did it discover that he too had been a "fraud."

In 1874 the *Sun* maintained that Boutwell had been involved in the Sanborn Contract, discovered under his successor, William A. Richardson. According to a provision made by Congress in 1872, the Secretary of the Treasury was entitled to employ as many as three officials for the purpose of collecting delinquent customs and internal revenue. Under this provision Richardson, first acting as Assistant Secretary and later as Secretary, made a contract with John D. Sanborn to collect unpaid revenue from railroads and other sources. The *Sun* told the story:

With this man (Sanborn) who had long been known as one of Gen. Butler's confidential friends and instruments, a contract was made by which he was to receive for his services one-half of all the money he should collect for the Government, notwithstanding that the rule of the department, subsequently adopted, when a general appropriation was made to be used for payment of unofficial detectives, was that only one tenth of the money recovered should be paid to the persons recovering it. . . .

Being thus armed with a contract from the Treasury Department and with Mr. Boutwell's letter and having at his back the power and influence of such men as the principal Treasury officials and his special friend and patron Gen. Butler, Mr. Sanborn, the new special partner of the United States Government went to work, employing sub-agents at his discretion. He thus collected some hundreds of thousands of dollars, of which he quietly robbed one-half. . . .⁶¹

As to Secretary Richardson's part in the scandal, the *Sun* felt he was justified in pleading ignorance. His appointment had been wholly im-

⁵⁹ Dec. 5, 1868.

⁶⁰ Mar. 5, 1870.

⁶¹ Feb. 19, 1874. Cf. Rhodes, VII, 64-66.

proper and "his nomination not one fit even for Gen. Grant to make." ⁶² "Mr. Boutwell is *the guilty man*. He made the contracts with Sanborn. He connived with Gen. Butler to put that fraud upon the revenue into execution." ⁶³ In characterizing Boutwell as Secretary of the Treasury the *Sun* maintained, "He failed ignorantly or he failed designedly. He himself knows which." ⁶⁴

In 1874, when Benjamin Bristow undertook the duties of the Treasury Department, the *Sun* greeted him with relief. "Unless he is interfered with by the President, it is not too much to hope that he will introduce real reforms in that abyss of corruption and immorality over which he has now been appointed." ⁶⁵ Until he too was dropped in 1876, Secretary Bristow maintained the respect of the *Sun*.

The Post Office Department, although shot through with petty fraud, played a less important part in the *Sun's* record of corruption than did the State, ⁶⁶ Navy, and Treasury departments. A. J. Creswell, Grant's original appointee to this office, held the position until 1874. The *Sun's* analysis of him was damning enough:

Since his entrance into politics Mr. Creswell has been on both sides of every important issue, and whenever there was a third side, he managed to take that also . . . in all his checkered career he has never made a mistake and never left a rising party to join a falling one. ⁶⁷

Creswell, according to the *Sun*, attempted an enormous thievery with Earle, his former law partner, as accomplice. He first made Earle Assistant Postmaster-General and then solicitor of claims against the Post Office Department. Earle acted as the attorney and Creswell as the judge. ⁶⁸ They would have succeeded, had it not been for a few vigilant Congressmen, in defrauding the Government of \$443,000. ⁶⁹

According to Dana, the mails were tampered with, letters were opened and read, and anti-Grant newspapers and documents were not allowed to circulate through the country. ⁷⁰ A system of straw bidding was indulged in, through which Creswell disbursed contracts for mail carriers. By

⁶² Mar. 18, 1874.

⁶³ Apr. 7, 1874.

⁶⁴ May 5, 1874.

⁶⁵ June 4, 1874.

⁶⁶ See Chapter XIII.

⁶⁷ June 30, 1874.

⁶⁸ Feb. 2, 1871.

⁶⁹ Cf. Oberholtzer, III, 70-71.

⁷⁰ June 25, 1872.

this means the Postmaster General gave thousands of dollars away, which as far as the public was concerned might as well have been thrown in the fire.⁷¹ In addition to these evils Grant and Creswell horrified the conservative *Sun* by attempting to get sanction for the government's taking over the telegraph system throughout the country.⁷²

But these were minor events compared with the startling story, the "King of Frauds" that appeared on the front page of the *Sun*, September 4, 1872. Under flaming headlines, the *Sun* wrote:

It is the most damaging exhibition of official and private villainy ever laid bare to the gaze of the world. The Vice-President of the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the chosen candidate of a great party for the second highest office in the gift of the people, the chairman of almost every important committee in the House of Representatives—all of them are proved by irrefutable evidence to have been bribed.

Thus the famous Credit Mobilier scandal was dropped like a bomb in the midst of the Grant-Greeley presidential campaign.

On July 1, 1862, and July 2, 1864, Congress passed statutes authorizing the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad and giving the company vast grants of public land, a loan of \$27,000,000 of Government bonds and, in addition, certain privileges in regard to issuing securities. Despite these generous terms it was impossible, due to the uncertain financial situation following the Civil War, to secure subscribers to the capital stock in cash. Thereupon, Oakes Ames, Representative from Massachusetts, organized a construction company called the Credit Mobilier with stock holders almost identical with those of the Union Pacific company. When some additional legislation was wanted from Congress, Ames managed to get it through by a liberal distribution of Credit Mobilier stock to leading Senators and Representatives for about thirty cents on the dollar in return for which the stock-holders realized a cash profit of at least \$23,000,000.⁷³

As soon as Congress met, Speaker Blaine called S. S. Cox to the chair and moved that an investigation be begun. Thereupon Cox appointed an able committee, including Luke P. Poland of Vermont as chairman, George W. McCrary, William M. Merrick, and William E. Niblack. The *Sun* believed in committees of investigation, although it knew their

⁷¹ Oct. 14, 1874.

⁷² June 25, 1872; Aug. 1, 1872.

⁷³ Sept. 5, 1872.

ability to overlook vital evidence. One of its witty sayings was: "A Sign of the times in Washington: '*Whitewashing done here.*'" ⁷⁴ Hence it feared that the inquiry was "likely to be squelched or perverted, so that no earnest exploration of the facts and no thorough going report" could be made. ⁷⁵

Although two committee men were Democrats, the *Sun* was not appeased. Was it not possible that they were already sympathetic toward the offenders and were appointed for reasons best known to themselves? When the committee got under way, the *Sun* asked whether Congress would do its duty and cleanse its own halls or leave undisturbed in their chairs men who had done their best to make the titles of Senator and Representative terms of reproach in the land. ⁷⁶

The findings of the Poland Committee differed radically from those of the *Sun*. Not only did they compute differently the amount of stock distributed but also the number of Congressmen involved. The *Sun* wanted to know how deeply involved Oakes Ames had been in the Sioux City and Cedar Rapids railroads. "Didn't he give some of his friends a share in one or both of them?" ⁷⁷ Although only Oakes Ames, Schuyler Colfax, James Brooks and James Patterson had been found guilty by the committee of taking bribes and deserving of expulsion, the *Sun* condemned seventeen ⁷⁸ and set its stamp of disapproval upon the inquiry:

The truth is there has been no investigation in the proper sense. What has come to light has been brought out in spite of all concerned. To screen, palliate, and cover up has been the guiding purpose of that committee. Their omissions are shameful; and their so-called cross examinations specimens of imbecility which would be amazing, if the design of exculpation had not been patent from the start. ⁷⁹

To the members of Congress involved the *Sun* was merciless. Oakes Ames, the "Bribeater," who professed to be the "scapegoat," was made the butt of biting sarcasm:

Ascetics are inclined to regard Ames' use in Congress of McCombs' Credit Mobilier shares as closely akin to bribery. Doubtless the transaction would

⁷⁴ Apr. 12, 1872.

⁷⁵ Nov. 4, 1872.

⁷⁶ Feb. 17, 1873.

⁷⁷ Jan. 8, 1873.

⁷⁸ This number included George Boutwell whom the *Sun* exonerated two days after the original exposure. Sept. 6, 1872.

⁷⁹ Feb. 18, 1873.

have been subject to this criticism, except for the beautiful moral philosophy which guided his conduct—"to place things where they will do the most good, and to so place them that those who receive them will find it for their interest to look into things."⁸⁰

The influence of the *Sun's* exposure of the Credit Mobilier upon the Presidential campaign was slight. It came after people had made up their minds for whom they would vote, and too late to check the momentum of the campaign. The exaggerated reports given by the Greeley papers made many discount the scandal entirely. Officers up for reelection lied to the press and public about the part that they, as individuals, had played in the acceptance of stock. But when the extent of the fraud was later revealed through Congressional investigation, many of those who had retained their faith in "the party that saved the Union" abandoned it. The *Sun's* influence was important in bringing this about.

The exposure of the Credit Mobilier was only one of the weapons with which the *Sun* attempted to dislodge Grant as President. During the campaign of 1872, it supported Horace Greeley while it labeled Grant a drunkard with a passion for liquor, a despot harboring the dream of perpetuating the Grant dynasty.⁸¹ He was anti-Catholic, anti-Negro⁸² and anti-Semitic.⁸³ He had a tendency toward kidnaping,⁸⁴ a sympathy with bigamists,⁸⁵ and was himself a heathen,⁸⁶ and in addition to all this, was a boor without humanity, intellect, or courtesy.⁸⁷ In his attempt to blacken Grant's character, Dana exhibited great curiosity concerning the President's relations with Butler, asserting that they formed "a queer political enigma which no one less eccentric than Butler or less stolid than Grant would probably ever be able to find out."⁸⁸ But these evils did not constitute the worst aspects of Grantism. The *Sun* pretended that it did not believe in carrying on a political campaign by means of personal attacks:

The real issue of the campaign is, do the people wish to have reform in the National Administration, or do they like gift taking, nepotism, the payment of

⁸⁰ Jan. 11, 1873.

⁸¹ June 25, 1872.

⁸² Apr. 5, 1872.

⁸³ July 24, 1872.

⁸⁴ June 12, 1872.

⁸⁵ Aug. 24, 1871.

⁸⁶ Oct. 30, 1871.

⁸⁷ June 17, 1872.

⁸⁸ May 2, 1872; May 9, 1872; Hesselstine refutes the charge that Butler had a hold over the President; *Grant*, 365.

forged bounty claims, Soscol ranch frauds, bribetaking, the payment of fraudulent navy claims, the concoction of Chorpenning swindles, and the like? ⁸⁹

Another government scandal was uncovered during the months preceding Grant's re-election. The "District Ring," headed by Henry Cooke, Governor of the District of Columbia and Alexander Shepherd, Vice-President of the Board of Public Works, were found to have an interest in the Metropolitan Paving Company, for whose benefit they raised the assessment of private property in Washington, D.C., and enforced very high taxation upon the local taxpayers. Their ultimate objective, according to the *Sun*, was to force three-fifths of the owners of estates and middle-class homes into bankruptcy, in anticipation of which they had already formed a ring to buy up the property sacrificed under tax sales.⁹⁰

After the Presidential campaign, the District Ring attempted to have Dana brought to Washington for trial, to answer a charge of libel, but the courts refused the necessary change of venue, much to Dana's relief.⁹¹ Some time previous to the charge which Shepherd and Cooke made against the editor, Congress had established a special Police Court in the District of Columbia.⁹² This court was to have a Judge but no jury; and could try misdemeanors not punishable by the penitentiary. Dana evidently feared an unfair trial.⁹³ The case was eventually tried in the Federal Court for the Southern district of New York and dismissed.⁹⁴

"Addition, Division and Silence," the campaign cry in 1872 of all opposed to the re-election of the Republicans, originated in the *Sun*. W. H. Kemble, State Treasurer of Pennsylvania, had been indiscreet enough in March, 1867, to send the following letter to Titian J. Coffey, of Washington, D.C.:

Allow me to introduce to you my particular friend, Mr. George C. Evans. He has a claim of some magnitude that he wishes you to help him in. Put him through as you would me. He understands addition, division and silence.

This letter appeared in the *Sun*, June 7, 1872, incorporated in an editorial under the significant title "The Right Man in the Right Place."

⁸⁹ Aug. 16, 1872.

⁹⁰ July 4, 1872.

⁹¹ Cf. Peck, 257-265.

⁹² June 17, 1870.

⁹³ Cf. O'Brien, 307.

⁹⁴ The *Sun*, Dec. 1, 1882.

After that it was repeated nearly every day until June 28, 1872. Then the phrase "Addition, Division, and Silence" became a theme on which the *Sun* played a thousand variations. Kemble, author of the phrase, was angered at the notoriety resulting from the reiteration of "Addition, Division, and Silence" throughout the country. He sued Dana for criminal libel, and again the editor had to answer for his relentless attacks upon corruption. He was arrested in Philadelphia and held in \$5,000 bail, which he forfeited rather than stand trial there. The case was not ended until December, 1882, when Kemble relinquished the suit.

During this period Asa Packer and Daniel J. Morrell invited Dana to speak at the celebration of the centenary of American Independence. The *Sun* printed the invitation and Dana's refusal on the ground that free speech in Philadelphia was not safe, since the Pennsylvania laws did not justify the publication of libels based on the truth. He advised these patriotic men to "see to it that the guarantee of free speech, and free printing, for the public good, be not postponed until the second Hundredth Anniversary of American Independence; but that it be accomplished at once."⁹⁵

Despite the *Sun's* untiring campaign against Grantism, the voters re-elected Grant by an overwhelming vote. All Dana's endeavors for four years seemed to have been in vain. The very people who had most to lose voted to continue the orgy another four years. In a vein of withering sarcasm intended to show up the stupidity of the public by proving the stupidity of their President, the *Sun* sharply criticized Grant's second inaugural address: It had the merit of brevity but considering its quality, should have been more brief. It consisted of disjointed sentences and confused paragraphs, thrown together heterogenously, like a pudding stone. His style was not worthy of an intelligent schoolboy ten years old. But while the address was stupid it was patriotic. His opposition to a large standing force, naval or military, smacked of statesmanship. Altogether, the address read a good deal like the speech of a sovereign or an Indian Chief who considered himself the father of the nation, and imagined that the people derived their happiness and prosperity from him.⁹⁶

The *Sun* was too pertinacious to give up its anti-Grant struggle, and was soon actively engaged again in exposure. This time its blows were

⁹⁵ Feb. 20, 1873.

⁹⁶ Mar. 5, 1873.

directed against the “back-pay-steal.” The possibility of a rise in government pay had been discussed previous to Grant’s first election.⁹⁷ But not until March, 1873, did Congress vote the President, Supreme Court, Cabinet members, Senators and Representatives as well as other administrative officers an increase in pay for their services. The measure, introduced by Butler, was made retroactive for two years in its application to Congressmen.

Grant, Butler and Garfield were flayed by the *Sun* for their part in the affair:

The man who is more responsible for the back-salary-robbery than anybody else is President Grant. He has no moral tone nor any high sense of honor to restrain him from openly making an urgent effort to have his own salary raised. He knew just as well as Ben. Butler knew, that it could not be done without corrupting members of Congress; and the plainest and easiest methods of doing this was to allow them to filch five thousand dollars apiece out of the treasury and call it back pay. . . . But next to Gen. Grant the most culpable man in Congress in connection with this intolerable swindle is Gen. Garfield of Ohio. For he is the one man who could have prevented it; and if he does not know that he is thus guilty, he is the only man of any prominence in Congress, familiar with the rules and orders of the House, who does not know it.⁹⁸

The *Sun* took the lead in the popular demand that the “back pay” be returned to the treasury. In time the feeling in the country became so strong that many Congressmen were forced to return the \$5,000 they had taken. On January 13, 1874, a bill repealed all the increases except that of the President and Justices of the Supreme Court. Grant, the “Great Grabster,” the “worst criminal of all,” still possessed his extra salary, much to Dana’s disgust.

To the indignant people, the *Sun* offered its old-fashioned remedy of the ballot box. No man should be returned to Congress who had taken part in this fraud, and the *Sun* published and republished its black list. As Butler was eager for the Governorship of Massachusetts, the *Sun* did all it could to prevent his election:

The life and career of Ben. Butler fitly illustrate Danton’s maxim, “Audacity, more audacity, always audacity. . . .” With it he has become a power in the party which, while affecting to despise his vulgar practices, yet abjectly accepts his leadership and bows humbly before his power. Hated by some, condemned

⁹⁷ Nov. 16, 1868.

⁹⁸ May 15, 1873.

by many, and distrusted by all, this bad man, with his crooked ways, foul methods, distorted mind, and wicked heart, glories in these moral deformities, flaunts them constantly before the public eye and traffics in them as political merchandise . . . cowardly by nature, mercenary from habit, and destitute of one ennobling quality or manly attribute to lift him up above these wretched characteristics, he is today the leading candidate for the highest honor in enlightened and moral Massachusetts.⁹⁹

A public reaction against Grantism was apparent in the elections of 1874. At the October election in Ohio and Indiana the Democrats carried both states. In New York, Samuel Tilden was chosen Governor by a large majority, while the Democrats were triumphant in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. Elated by these results and predicting the impeachment of Grant, the *Sun* said:

The indignation of the people as expressed through the ballot boxes yesterday has shivered Grant's administration to atoms. The overthrow is complete and terrific. . . .

It is impossible to enumerate the names of the great mass of hypocrites, adventurers, and rogues which the work of Monday and Tuesday has put under the sod never to rise again.¹⁰⁰

The "Salary Grab," despite public condemnation, proved only the first of a new series of scandals. Secretary Bristow soon uncovered a whiskey scandal, the ramifications of which were incredible. Distillers, revenue officers, and high government officials in Washington had formed a great ring, and became skillful in securing vast sums that belonged to the Government. Dana stood behind Secretary Bristow on every point; some of those nearer to him, including Grant, did not do as much.¹⁰¹ The President's rapid loss of enthusiasm for the inquiry, a revelation that some of the money illicitly procured had been used for his re-election, and the complicity of Orville E. Babcock, his private secretary, seemed to the *Sun* final proof of the President's guilt. The outcome of Bristow's attempt to punish all the thieves did not satisfy Dana. He was most indignant over Babcock's exoneration and his temporary restoration to his place of favor in the White House.¹⁰²

A new scandal soon caught Dana's attention. William W. Belknap,

⁹⁹ June 26, 1873.

¹⁰⁰ Nov. 4, 1874.

¹⁰¹ Nevins, Allan, *Hamilton Fish*, 612; Hesseltine, 378-388.

¹⁰² Oberholtzer, III, 150.

once held in respect by the *Sun*, "in comparison with his associates," ¹⁰³ was found involved in the sale of post traderships. John S. Evans had paid Caleb P. Marsh a stipulated sum of money to prevent him from using influence with the Belknaps to deprive him of his valuable post at Fort Sill in the Indian territory. In turn, Marsh paid one half of the fee first to Mrs. Belknap and after her death to the Secretary himself.

"Grant has a Finger in the Pie," ¹⁰⁴ the *Sun* said. "The connection of Grant himself with the scandalous traffic in post traderships is plain enough. He has personally managed the business of blackmailing the settlers and fleecing the soldiers." ¹⁰⁵ Exactly how Grant personally managed the business of blackmailing was neither explained nor proved, but the effect of the vote to impeach Belknap was to weaken the Republican party.

Blaine and the Mulligan Letters episode which followed close upon the heels of the Belknap revelations was not as vigorously condemned in the *Sun* as some of the other frauds. Nevertheless the *Sun* included it among the scandals of Grantism. As Speaker of the House, Blaine had involved himself in shady railroad transactions. To his discredit he became little better than a broker of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad companies, profiting from the sale of bonds to his friends in Maine. All went smoothly until the failure of the railroad required him to make good the losses of his friends or meet severe criticism. Two stronger railway companies took over the failing company and, it was alleged, came to Blaine's aid financially, undoubtedly with expectation of future legislative favors.

The *Sun* considered Blaine's early denials "lame and insincere" and asked for an investigation.¹⁰⁶ By May 2, a committee of the Judiciary was already collecting damaging facts. At this critical time, James Mulligan entered the scene with certain incriminating correspondence carried on between Blaine and Warren Fisher, Jr. Blaine attempted to suppress the letters and for this act was heartily condemned in the *Sun*:

James G. Blaine succeeded Colfax as Speaker, and will soon follow him into exile and disgrace. . . . It is now certain that Blaine has been little else than

¹⁰³ Feb. 23, 1870.

¹⁰⁴ Mar. 7, 1876.

¹⁰⁵ Mar. 19, 1876; cf. Hesseltine, 395-396; Oberholtzer, III, 164.

¹⁰⁶ May 2; 9, 1876.

a professional broker, a jobber in legislation, and a beneficiary of the great lobby scheme.¹⁰⁷

The vindication given Blaine by his Republican associates, many of whom had themselves been connected with fraud, disgusted Dana. When Blaine was being considered for the next Presidential nomination, the *Sun* burst forth:

There is such a logical propriety, such a fitness of things in fact, that it seems almost providential. The Republican party is radically, thoroughly, hopelessly corrupt and Mr. Blaine is just the same as his party. It has no moral sense and he has no moral sense. . . . The Republican party and James Blaine are well suited for each other. They are similar in their lives and their downfall should not be divided.¹⁰⁸

Since the first appearance of Dana's *Sun*, complaints had been heard against the white men's unchristian treatment of the Indians. Reservations had been laid out by the Government, but as the more adventurous settlers moved toward the Pacific in search of gold or farmland they were constantly hindered by warlike tribes that proved only a little less cunning and treacherous than their foes. In January, 1869, Dana, believing Grant to be in sympathy with a bill passed by the House transferring the care of Indians from the Department of the Interior to the War Department, supported the measure.¹⁰⁹

The Indians were not put under the War Department. To meet the demands of humanitarian groups a commission of ten was appointed by authority of Congress to secure a more just and humane treatment of the Indian problem. The members of the commission, according to the *Sun*, were "all eminent for business experience and integrity, and some of them for special acquaintance with the wants of the Indians."¹¹⁰ Two million dollars was appropriated for the joint use of the Commission and the Secretary of the Interior to promote the civilization of the tribes and maintain peace on the Western plains.¹¹¹ A number of important superintendentships and agencies were given to Friends, who were known to deal honestly and kindly with Indians. Upon the advice of the Commission, other religious sects were invited to share in the "enlightened"

¹⁰⁷ June 5, 1876.

¹⁰⁸ June 14, 1876; cf. Muzzey, David S., *James G. Blaine*.

¹⁰⁹ Jan. 28, 1869.

¹¹⁰ June 5, 1871.

¹¹¹ Oberholtzer, III, 381.

policy of Grant who, for a time, approved of this program.

Although the powers of the Commission were defined as only advisory, several investigations were begun through its efforts, and several wars averted or at least postponed. In facing this problem, the *Sun* was between the horns of a dilemma. It wished the Government to be fair with the Indians, but it also wanted every opportunity for the white man. It once remarked:

The existence of all the Indians that scalp and rob between the Missouri and the mountains should not be thought of for a moment in comparison with the importance to the civilized world of keeping the Pacific railroads perfectly safe to passengers and to freight.¹¹²

But a little later:

The effort now in progress in Washington to establish a territorial government over what is called the Indian Nation, is simply a bold and direct step to trampling these barriers flat down, and letting a flood of covetous borderers in, to get by hook or by crook, by force or by fraud, the wonderful lands which have so inflamed their lust.¹¹³

It desired to preserve the national reputation for honesty and justice toward the savages, and at the same time take over for the benefit of the whites the surplus lands and resources of the Indians. This conflict in attitude was revealed in such statements as, "Let the Government keep the engagements of its treaties, let it protect the hunting ground of the Indians, but let the gold and silver of the mountains be got out."¹¹⁴

In 1870 Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, Sioux chiefs, visited the East to protest against the usurpation of their territory in the Black Hills. At Washington they learned that a treaty they had signed in the belief it was a compact of friendship with the whites, was in reality an agreement by the Indians to the passage of the Union Pacific Railroad through their territory. The efforts to entertain the Indian chiefs lavishly that they might return impressed with the White Man's power was scorned by the *Sun*, which thus stated its opinion of our Indian policy:

Which shall prevail—the civilized sentiment of the nation, or the barbarous pleasure of savages too lazy to till the soil, too proud to change their hunter

¹¹² Apr. 16, 1870.

¹¹³ Apr. 27, 1870.

¹¹⁴ Apr. 5, 1870.

lives, too insolent to acknowledge the control of the Government? In behalf of the public interest of the country, we demand that this most important question be discussed and settled with other diplomacy and other influences than strawberries and cream, garlanded with hot-house and open-air flowers. The Sioux are in blood earnest. . . . We pray Gen. Grant to spare us the humiliation of any further effusion of ice cream and candy, upon the peril of a Sioux outbreak against the Government's military posts of the Northern plains.¹¹⁵

In October, 1870, Secretary Cox left the Department of the Interior, and by January of 1872 members of the Indian Commission began to hand in their resignations. An Indian Ring, whose chief was Perry Fuller, was able to operate under Columbus Delano, the new Secretary. Long before the condition of Indian affairs was a prominent issue, the *Sun* was publishing interesting accusations. At one time the Ring bought thousands of dollars worth of staples that the Government had appropriated for the Indians for the price of a few beads and worthless trinkets. On the sale of these staples to white settlers it made fine profits.¹¹⁶ Again, in order to facilitate the construction of the Kansas Pacific Railroad, some Indians who had recently settled in Kansas were moved to a less valuable area in return for empty promises.¹¹⁷ Money appropriated for the endowment of a school for the benefit of a tribe of Ottawa Indians was used by the trustees of the fund to build a white university. The Indian Commission complained but received no co-operation from Delano, and although Congress passed an act for the relief of the defrauded Indians in June, 1872, little was done for them.

During its early era of Grant worship the *Sun* had treated the Indians with the same intolerance and lack of understanding as did most people. But as Grantism proceeded, the *Sun* reversed its policy. Whereas it had urged their annihilation in 1868, it now declared that it would be the extreme of inhumanity to put them in the hands of the War Department. It would be difficult to prove that Dana had any real sympathy with the Red Man, but he did enjoy exposing all possible frauds under Grant. When Prof. O. C. Marsh, of Yale University, sent condemnatory reports back from the Sioux country, the *Sun* lent its voice to a condemnation of our "despicable" and "heinous" Indian policy.¹¹⁸

Professor Marsh complained of the scandalous methods by which the

¹¹⁵ June 10, 1870.

¹¹⁶ July 24, 1872.

¹¹⁷ Nov. 21, 1872.

¹¹⁸ July 17, 1875.

Ring contractors and agents managed to steal money and provisions that Congress had voted for the subsistence of various tribes. Although his specific charges referred only to the Red Cloud agency, he indicted the entire Indian Ring. He addressed himself directly to the President because of his distrust of the Secretary of the Interior. The *Sun* reported that Delano and the Indian Commissioners at once "assailed the motives of Professor Marsh and the other accusers" and attempted to discredit their testimony instead of investigating the alleged abuses; also that the Administration was trying to quiet the scandal. A commission of five was sent to investigate the various agencies during the summer of 1875. They took great pains to exculpate Delano, but in spite of all their efforts were forced to advise a great number of reforms as well as the removal of the Red Cloud agency. Before their report could be completed, Delano resigned.

There were other frauds of less historical importance, to which the *Sun* gave space and attention. For most of these it blamed Grant, directly or indirectly. It accused Attorney-General Williams of malfeasance in office and of furnishing his house at the expense of the United States.¹¹⁹ It featured the Department of Interior as the center of dishonest transactions ever since Grant had become President, the Safe Burglary conspiracy in Washington as an example of injustice to innocents, and the Customs House of New York for its notorious mismanagement. It called Bancroft Davis, Assistant Secretary of State, a "bribe-taker"; pictured Orvill Grant, the President's brother, as always devising ways to get rich quick;¹²⁰ and charged Jesse R. Grant, the President's father, with having had a hand in many a bad deal.¹²¹

In 1870, the *Sun* tried to impugn Grant's integrity and loyalty to John A. Rawlins:

Can it be true that the subscription of \$1,000 which Gen. Grant made last year to the fund for the family of the late John A. Rawlins was not paid by the President, but by James Fisk, Jr., with whom he was at that time on terms of remarkable intimacy?¹²²

In 1871, it demanded that the President rid himself of this blot upon his honor and pay back to Jay Gould the one thousand dollars paid on his

¹¹⁹ June 5, 1874.

¹²⁰ Mar. 30, 1875.

¹²¹ Mar. 23, 1872.

¹²² Aug. 1, 1870; Hesseltine refutes this slander, *Grant*, 215.

subscriptions to the Rawlins fund.¹²³ During the mud-slinging campaign of 1872 the *Sun* went to lower depths of vilification. \$12,000 was missing from the Rawlins fund, of which Grant was a trustee. Was it through some act of the President's "lost in the great Gold speculation"?¹²⁴ Only Dana's hatred for Grant can explain these unjustified libels.

The idea of a third term for Grant and his family was extremely distressing to the *Sun*. In 1872 it began to warn the people of Grant's intention and was still discussing the heinous possibility in 1880. It maintained that a third term of Grant meant the reversal of the fundamental ideas, doctrines and motives that had made the nation great and prosperous. It meant the annexation of Mexico, Central America, and the West Indies, and the construction of an interoceanic canal with the maintenance of a large standing army. It meant a military despot, a king and a ruling family. It meant another era of universal jobbery, colossal stealing, riotous living, social depravity, and the complete deterioration of public morale. And if Grant were to buy, beg or steal his way once again to the Presidential chair, the *Sun* said, the country might as well make up its mind to have him for ever and ever, for he would never get out again.

¹²³ Apr. 12, 1871.

¹²⁴ Oct. 14, 1872.

CHAPTER V

SENSATIONAL ATTACKS OF THE *SUN*

"MR. GREELEY never puts himself forward, never seeks office; but woe has befallen those who have overlooked the fact that while he never sought place, his natural modesty could be so overcome as to induce him to accept it." ¹ Thus wrote the *Sun* when early in 1868 it began trying to advance Horace Greeley to governmental office. With never-ceasing effort, Dana supported him for Secretary of State, Postmaster General, Minister to England, Minister to China, Minister to Spain, President of a Commission to San Domingo, member of the Alabama Claims Commission, United States Senator from Virginia, Congressman in New York State, Governor of New York State, City Comptroller, State Prison Inspector, Vice-President and President of the United States.

Dana's sincerity in his continuous championship of Greeley was, and is still, a matter of dispute. But the multiplicity of the offices proposed and the peculiarity of the *Sun's* support left no doubt that Dana enjoyed a joke at Greeley's expense. Correspondents and contemporary newspapers accused the *Sun* of malice. Greeley himself was tortured by the *Sun's* constant attentions and begged his friends to refrain from nominating him for office.

The *Sun's* attitude toward Greeley during the Presidential campaign of 1872 ² gives support to the story that Dana once said, "No citizen in this town can go to bed at night with the certainty that he can foretell the *Sun's* editorial course the next morning on any given topic." ³ At the same time that it praised Greeley, it published editorials condemning him for trivialities. It withdrew its support from him and then returned it, offering some previously contradicted reason for its former reluctance to support him. As the *Nation* remarked, it used every known mode of recommending a candidate, to the point of urging Irishmen to vote for a man who had once boarded with an Irish family, paying \$2.50

¹ Apr. 30, 1868

² O'Brien, Frank M., *The Story of the Sun*, 296, 428-430.

³ John A. Cockerill, *Cosmopolitan*; Oct. 1892.

for board.⁴ Some of its "modes of recommendation" were obviously intended to bring Greeley into ridicule.

In the New York State elections of 1869, the *Sun* advocated Greeley for Comptroller, calling him the Independent candidate of the Independent press. In reality Greeley was nominated through spite by the State Committee, which resented the *Tribune's* exposure of corruption among Republicans in the Assembly.⁵ On October 30th, the *Sun* devoted every editorial on its page to the election of Greeley; there were forty in all. It prepared special ballots for Democrats to facilitate a split vote, giving the Comptrollership to Greeley. It maintained that it paid for advertising him in his own paper, offering as proof a copy of the receipted bill from the *Tribune*.⁶ Finally, it gave fifteen "Reasons Why Mr. Greeley Should be Controller." Republicans, Democrats, Abolitionists, Secessionists, and every other possible economic, social or national group were all appealed to with equal zeal and plausibility.⁷ This jesting appeal might have elected Greeley had each group to whom the candidate was recommended read only the sentence written for its eyes.

Unabashed by Greeley's defeat, the *Sun* said: "With more time and a thorough organization, we could have elected him." Today we nominate Horace Greeley for the next Governor of New York.⁸ Two days later appeared the announcement: "The nomination of Mr. Greeley for Governor is heartily responded to in many quarters. Democrats as well as Republicans, and men of no party, are for running him and electing him. The workingmen are for it. The young men are for it. The Germans are for it. The Independent Press is for it. And it will be done!" Simultaneously the *Sun* urged the Democratic party to nominate William M. Tweed as his opponent!

To the dismay of party managers, the movement to nominate Greeley for governor gained strength. Influences that had supported him for strategic reasons only were withdrawn, and it was intimated that Grant preferred Stewart L. Woodford.⁹ In these circumstances the *Sun* changed front and suggested instead that Greeley be made State Prison Inspector.

⁴ Nov. 4, 1869.

⁵ Alexander, D. S., *A Pol. Hist. of the State of New York*, III, 225-227.

⁶ Nov. 11, 1869.

⁷ Oct. 12, 1869.

⁸ Nov. 4, 1869.

⁹ Alexander, III, 237.

"It is true he has been mentioned as a candidate for governor," said the *Sun*, "but such a nomination is out of the question." As a candidate for prison inspector, "all Republicans may rely on that noble spirit of self sacrifice which has marked his whole political career, for his acceptance of the trust." ¹⁰

After the nomination of Woodford, the *Sun* pretended to be incensed, declaring that Greeley had been shamefully treated by Grant and the Republican party. "The defeat of Horace Greeley at Saratoga astonishes many people, and no one more than the distinguished victim himself. . . . We think there has been double dealing in the slaughter of the philosopher of Chappaqua in the house of his friends." ¹¹ The *Sun* asserted that Greeley despised the Administration and had been driven to write an editorial rebuking Grant for his part in the nominations at Saratoga and demanding an apology. When Greeley replied in the *Tribune*, the *Sun* reprinted his rebuttal under the title "The Republican Elephant." ¹²

During this period, the *Sun* kept before the public certain defects in Greeley's character, which it either pretended to correct by persuasion, or pardoned with heavy irony. It feigned solicitude concerning his proclivity for swearing, trusting that he would soon begin to resist the evil within himself. "Why should a good man like Horace Greeley be habitually a profane swearer?" ¹³ the *Sun* inquired. Depicting him as the victim of insincere flatterers, loose impostors, and sentimental swindlers, it showed great concern for his indiscreet association with "Free Lovers," who, according to the *Sun*, "for the last few years [have] made the *Tribune* their headquarters." ¹⁴ It forgave Greeley for allowing his destitute uncle to die in a Wisconsin poorhouse ¹⁵ and praised him for having made Macaulay a Lord. ¹⁶

The *Sun* never doubted Greeley's honesty and related an incident in which a politician slipped a thousand dollar check into a pocket of the famous coat: "he immediately paraded it before the public, and said he wondered what it was for." ¹⁷ Yet the *Sun* professed fear that his political activity might arouse suspicion and constantly called upon him to come

¹⁰ Sept. 6, 1870.

¹¹ Sept. 9, 1870.

¹² Sept. 29, 1870.

¹³ May 7, 1870.

¹⁴ Apr. 19, 1870.

¹⁵ July 1, 1870.

¹⁶ Dec. 17, 1869.

¹⁷ Dec. 16, 1870.

out in the open and declare himself guiltless of corruption. On April 7, 1870, Greeley replied in the *Tribune*. His letter showed extreme irritation at Dana's persecution and reaffirmed his political integrity.

The *Sun's* campaign to make Greeley President began in 1868 and continued without abatement until November, 1871. During this interval, it announced that since Greeley despised Grant (for if he said he didn't he was a liar) he was "himself in the field." His tour through the West in 1870 was reported as "Mr. Greeley's Bold Stroke for the Presidency."¹⁸

While Dana was giving Greeley this kind of support, an editorial appeared urging the Democrats to nominate Tweed for President. Thus for the second time Greeley and Tweed were put on the same level in the *Sun's* estimation. It printed the following box at the head of its editorial columns.¹⁹

FOR PRESIDENT

FARMERS' AND MECHANICS' CANDIDATE

THE GREAT AND GOOD

USEFUL H. GREELEY

OF

Texas and New York

The *Lawrence Journal* of Kansas wrote: "The New York *Sun*, whose editor hates Greeley and always shows it by mock praise, hoists his name at the head of its column." Dana replied, "How does the *Lawrence Journal* know that the editor of the *Sun* 'hates Greeley'? In what way was our hatred ever manifested? Does it show hatred of Mr. Greeley that we bring him out as the Farmers' and Mechanics' candidate, and daily advocate his nomination and election?"²⁰

As the presidential year approached the *Sun* dropped Greeley as its

¹⁸ Oct. 11, 1870.

¹⁹ July 13, 1871.

²⁰ July 4, 1871.

candidate. Two years before a Liberal Republican group had originated in the West, and increasing unrest was evident among all Republicans who abhorred the corruption of the Grant Administration. If the liberal elements were able to choose a candidate acceptable to the Democrats, Grant might be defeated. As editor of the *Tribune*, Greeley had spent his life opposing the Democracy. But, by signing Jefferson Davis's bond and preferring secession of the Southern States to war, he had earned the distrust of most Republicans, while gaining few friends in the South. "If the Republic is to be saved from corruption and robbery," the *Sun* wisely concluded, "the work must be done by sharper remedies and more heroic treatment; and—we say it with regret—the National Reformers must rally around some other Presidential candidate than Horace Greeley." ²¹

In finding a candidate who could rally divergent economic and political elements, Dana found the tariff a major stumbling block. While regular Republicans were for high tariffs, there was a popular demand for lower duties and the independent anti-Grant Republicans were largely free traders. Furthermore, a platform had to be drawn up that Democrats could endorse. As a way around the problem, the *Sun* soon suggested Lyman Trumbull for President, a prudent man with a few theoretical ideas favoring free trade, and Greeley, a high-tariff man, for Vice-President. "To nominate two such men together," the *Sun* said, "is to recognize in the most satisfactory manner the fact that while the tariff needs reforming, high duties must still be maintained." ²²

Two weeks later the *Sun* reversed its position and announced that Greeley was the strongest candidate for the Liberal Reformers. It explained: "The only ground on which, at one time, we felt inclined to prefer some other candidate to Mr. Greeley was the apprehension that he might ultimately be led to support Gen. Grant." ²³ The preservation of a high-tariff policy must have outweighed other considerations. In an effort to conciliate free traders, the *Sun* remarked that "any crochets which the President may have in his head on the subject are of little more practical importance than the color of his hair." ²⁴ And when Greeley received the nomination of the Cincinnati convention, the *Sun* declared, "We have done our duty in bringing him forward and making him a

²¹ Nov 28, 1871.

²² Mar. 11, 1872.

²³ Mar. 29, 1872.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

candidate. It only remains for the people to do theirs and elect him.”²⁵

The “office-holders,” “personal friends,” and “family relations” met in Philadelphia on June 5th to nominate Grant for a second term. There was only one delegate who objected, so the *Sun* reported, and, “as one of Grant’s supporters said to Grant, ‘What business has he here?’ He had no business there, of course; for it was not a meeting of consultation but a conclave to record a decree.” Grant was nominated by a unanimous vote. One ballot decided the contest for the vice-presidential nomination. The *Sun* thought the convention selected Henry Wilson “to spite Mr. Sumner.”²⁶ Wilson was later dubbed the “Know-Nothing” candidate, and the *Sun* used the opportunity to play upon race antagonism during the campaign.

The *Sun* argued that the Democrats would decide the election when they met in Baltimore. If they endorsed Greeley they could probably defeat Grant, whereas if they chose another candidate, Grant’s chances were vastly improved. Admitting that Greeley’s nomination was distasteful to Democrats, the *Sun* urged them to consider whether the perpetuation of the present corrupt dynasty was not the evil of greater magnitude?²⁷ The Democratic convention contained many Southern Democrats of the old school, victimized by carpetbag rule and touched by Greeley’s warm sympathy. These men carried the day and the Liberal Republican nominations were endorsed. The *Sun* declared:

We are now going to have a square contest. No side issues and no third candidate will interfere with the great question whether or not the people approve of Grant and his system of family and military government and general plunder. If they like Grant and his peculiarities a majority of them will vote for him; if not, they will vote for Greeley.²⁸

Before the “square contest” got underway, third party movements had begun to appear. In February the Labor Reformers nominated Judge David Davis, whom the *Sun* considered unqualified for important executive functions.²⁹ After Judge Davis had refused the nomination, it said, “Why don’t they take up Horace Greeley, the Woodchopper of Chappaqua? He is not only a working man himself, but has been for

²⁵ May 4, 1872.

²⁶ June 7, 1872.

²⁷ May 9, 1872.

²⁸ July 11, 1872.

²⁹ Feb. 24, 1872.

many years identified with the elevation of Labor.”³⁰ The candidate of the Prohibition Party was James Black of Pennsylvania. The *Sun* urged this group to support the “teetotaller,” Horace Greeley, while it published, at their request, “a red-hot manifesto” in which the accusation of gross drunkenness was at intervals renewed against Grant.³¹ Susan B. Anthony issued a circular inviting women to vote for Grant. In answer, the *Sun* said, “Oh, Susan, Susan, how could you go and do such a thing? Don’t you know that Grant has never done anything to enfranchise women, and doesn’t believe in woman suffrage, and that he thinks of you and your ideas only as a bore?”³²

From the outset much dissatisfaction with their candidate existed among Liberal Republicans and Democrats. Shortly after the Cincinnati convention a group of two hundred leading Independents met at Steinway Hall to protest against Greeley’s nomination. However, because some of them believed it of first importance to defeat Grant, they did not make any new nominations.³³ A second group, including Edward Atkinson, William Cullen Bryant, Parke Godwin, and Oswald Ottendorfer, met at the Fifth Avenue Hotel and nominated their own Presidential ticket with William Groesbeck and Frederick Olmstead as candidates. The *Sun* said:

They are opposed to Grant and opposed to Greeley. They are dissatisfied with the Cincinnati platform and hostile to that set-up at Philadelphia; and they are determined not to compromise their own integrity by voting for men they do not like, or seeming to approve of principles which are not theirs.

The *Sun* was gratified to announce Olmstead’s refusal of their nomination for Vice-President. It predicted that Groesbeck would also refuse to stand as the free trader’s candidate, for the reason that “in their exclusive devotion to their own intellectual conceptions they do not apprehend the vital quality and reach of the issues to be decided in the election.”³⁴ Judge Brinckerhoff of Ohio published a letter stating he would vote for neither the “congenital stupidity of Grant nor the pretentious and meddling non-wisdom of Greeley.”³⁵ Gov. Henry A. Wise of Virginia had already announced that if the “woodchopper” were

³⁰ July 4, 1872.

³¹ Aug. 18, 1872.

³² July 22, 1872.

³³ June 1, 1872.

³⁴ June 24, 1872.

³⁵ July 1, 1872.

nominated by the Democrats he would take the stump for Grant.³⁶

The *Sun* blamed most of the anti-Greeley feeling on the Democratic party. Its work was said to be done with sluggish indifference to matters of pressing necessity, and with considerable incapacity; while charges of bad faith were not wanting. On August 31, Dana said, there was reason to fear that the Grant managers were getting the better of the National Democratic Committee. He advised Augustus Schell, "titular head of the Committee," to wake up and attend to his duties before it was too late.

Not the tariff, civil service reform, or the Southern question, according to the *Sun*, presented the real issue. It was first and foremost a contest to defeat Grant. Once Greeley had received the nomination, although Dana really believed he was not fit to be President, and said so later, he supported him with mingled praise and ridicule. Editorials, ostensibly in his support, dealt with such subjects as Greeley's devotion to "an old dried up cow" which he kept on his farm for sentimental reasons;³⁷ his recent moral reform in regard to his profanity;³⁸ Grant's unwarranted abuse of the architect of the Republican party; and Greeley's compassion in signing Jefferson Davis's bond.³⁹ The *Sun* appealed to Greeley's admirers to raise him a bronze statue in Printing House Square.⁴⁰

The North Carolina elections in August presaged the downfall of Greeley. But Dana's championship of Greeley lasted to the end. On November 1 the *Sun* rebuked the contemporary press for its attacks upon Greeley. After a long illness Mrs. Greeley had died:

While there is mourning in the home of Horace Greeley as the stricken man weeps the loss of his wife, and the children for the mother they will know no more, cannot the malignity of partisan hatred and falsehood pause for a moment? Beside that unclosed coffin how brutal, how revolting, some of the recent caricatures must seem to everyone with a human and not a fiendish heart.⁴¹

During the campaign Greeley had expended his last reserves of strength in touring the country and making speeches. The financial affairs of the

³⁶ July 2, 1872.

³⁷ May 10, 1872.

³⁸ Aug. 30, 1872.

³⁹ Aug. 1, 1872.

⁴⁰ July 17, 1872.

⁴¹ Nov. 1, 1872.

Tribune were in a pitiable state and debts were harassing him. He was still stricken by the death of his wife when he was defeated at the polls. These disasters combined to break his health and spirit. The *Sun* gave daily reports of his condition until November 30th when it announced his death. On December 5th Dana published his obituary:

The mortal remains of Horace Greeley were interred yesterday. It was a scene of public mourning. The whole city shared in the funeral ceremonies. Our people always seemed to cherish toward Mr. Greeley a warmer personal regard than toward any other distinguished citizen. For more than forty years he had lived among us a most conspicuous person; and now that death has followed so swiftly upon his defeat as a candidate for the highest office, and that his memorable career has closed with a tragic catastrophe, this feeling is warmed into a tender and respectful affection which forms his best eulogium. . . .

There have been journalists who as such, strictly speaking, have surpassed him. Minds not devoted to particular doctrines, not absorbed in the advocacy of cherished ideas, in a word minds that believe little and aim only at the passing success of a day may easily excel one like his in the preparation of a mere newspaper. Mr. Greeley was the antipode of all such persons. He was always absolutely in earnest. His convictions were intense; he had that peculiar courage, most precious in a great man, which enables him to adhere to his own line of action despite the excited appeals of friends and menaces of variable public opinion; and his constant purpose was to assert his principles, to fight for them, and present them to the public in a way most likely to give them the hold upon other minds which they had upon his own. . . .

Horace Greeley delighted to be a maker of newspapers, not so much for the thing itself, though to that he was sincerely attached, as for the sake of promoting doctrines, ideas, and theories in which he was a believer; and his personal ambition, which was very profound and never inoperative, made him wish to be Governor, Legislator, Senator, Cabinet Minister, President, because such elevation seemed to afford the clearest possible evidence that he himself was appreciated and the cause he espoused had gained the hearts of the people. How incomplete, indeed, would be the triumph of any set of principles if their chief advocate and promoter were to go unrecognized and unhonored! . . .⁴²

Beautifully written, critical but generous, this tribute, occupying one entire editorial page, for the first time elevated Greeley in the *Sun* to the place of respect which he deserved. Yet Dana could not let the occasion pass without recalling what he believed was Greeley's omnivorous appetite for office. Was this, perhaps, the way in which Dana justified the *Sun's* constant advocacy of Greeley for office? No one who read the *Sun* faithfully could believe it was not malicious.

⁴² Dec. 5, 1872.

After Greeley's death, a statue of him was considered more seriously than it had been during his life. When the Louisville *Courier-Journal* asked how Greeley should be represented—as a writer, a farmer, or a printer—the *Sun* replied: "Our own idea would be to have the statue represent Dr. Greeley just as he appeared when addressing the Chamber of Commerce in Louisville, on finance, on September last. The only real difficulty is making up the subscription."⁴³ As the movement took hold upon the minds of the citizens, an editorial appeared requesting all people who had paid money to call at the *Sun* office and get it back. "Mr. Dana declines to serve on a newly formed committee to raise another fund for the erection of such a statue."⁴⁴ Dana had tormented Greeley with his plan to build a statue of him while he lived; now he refused to take part in its erection, although he knew it would have pleased Greeley to have been so remembered.

It was a very "painful" experience for the *Sun* to learn who had caused Greeley's insanity:

One of the most painful and affecting circumstances in the last days of Horace Greeley is the fact that the blow which seems to have finally overthrown his reason was struck by his own assistant in the conduct of the *Tribune*, . . . Mr. Whitelaw Reid, who had been intrusted with the control of that journal while its chief editor was engaged in the Presidential canvass.⁴⁵

The *Sun* then copied from the *Tribune* the article entitled "Crumbs of Comfort" that had caused Greeley's "loss of reason." It was, in substance, an expression of gratitude that needy office-seekers would no longer infest the offices of the *Tribune*. With very bad taste, Reid had permitted the publication of the statement:

It is a source of profound satisfaction to us that office seekers will keep aloof from a defeated candidate who has not influence enough at Washington or Albany to get a sweeper appointed under the Sergeant-at-Arms, or a deputy-sub-assistant temporary clerk into the paste-pot section of the folding room.⁴⁶

According to the *Sun* this article had been read by Greeley with horror and disgust, and very soon after he had lost his reason. Greeley's insanity seemed to weigh heavily upon Dana's mind. A few years later

⁴³ Nov. 25, 1872.

⁴⁴ Dec. 18, 1872.

⁴⁵ Nov. 30, 1872.

⁴⁶ Nov. 30, 1872; cf. Oberholtzer, E. P., *History of the United States*, III, 67-68.

in condemning the *Times* for not having supported Greeley, the *Sun* wrote:

Why it is hardly too much to say that if the *Times* had united with the *Sun* and gone for Greeley—gone for him early and gone for him strong—we might have had an insane man for the President, to be sure, but we would not have had Grant.⁴⁷

Greeley and Whitelaw Reid were not the only men in the *Tribune* office whom the *Sun* attacked. John Russell Young had been managing editor before Reid. He was a young man whom Greeley had chosen for his ability as an editorial writer. He was twenty-seven years old with a fine future in journalism before him, when the *Sun* changed his status from that of an admired journalist to a "Sneak News-Thief."

On April 27, 1869, it published a sensational story of Young's phenomenal rise to the managing editorship of the *Tribune* and four columns of incriminating exhibits. The gist of the scandal was that Young had abused the privileges of the Associated Press by telegraphing dispatches that were received by the *Tribune* to the *Morning Post*, a small paper in Philadelphia of which he was the proprietor. He had been discovered by means of fake dispatches which appeared only in the two papers and a personally signed letter enclosing a cable dispatch to the *Post*. These dispatches and letter, according to the *Sun*, proved that he had "fleeced and bled" numerous persons, sold the columns of the *Tribune*, and betrayed Horace Greeley.

The day the story appeared, Young started a libel suit for \$100,000 damages. Two days later, the *Sun* informed its readers that this libel suit had increased the circulation "not only of our blood but of our journal, deeply interests our readers and delights our counsel."⁴⁸ It reprinted the evidence in part and in full. After Young had been driven "almost crazy" he dropped the suit.

The *Sun* demanded that Greeley dismiss Young from the *Tribune*. Instead, Greeley wrote an article exonerating Young and insisting that the *Sun's* charges were not proved.⁴⁹ He declared he had read the evidence on which the *Sun* based its statements four days before they appeared in print.⁵⁰ If Greeley felt that Young had erred he evidently was not convinced the crime warranted his dismissal. Within a month, however,

⁴⁷ Jan. 22, 1874.

⁴⁸ Apr. 29, 1869.

⁴⁹ May 3, 1869.

⁵⁰ May 17, 1869.

Young left the *Tribune*.⁵¹ *Sun* readers gathered he had been "kicked out" for stealing news.⁵²

For over a decade the *Sun* continued to persecute Young, making his friends appear to share its contempt and warning others against him. Greeley was quoted as having said Young had "sold" him out, a statement he angrily denied.⁵³ And Bennett, who had appointed Young *Herald* correspondent at Vienna, was told that "no journal, no matter how right it is, can stand the connection with it of such characters as this sneak news thief."⁵⁴ It always spoke of the New York *Standard*, started by Young, as "Thieves' Own," maintaining that "of course it was a Grant paper, and bitterly opposed to Horace Greeley, whom Young robbed while in his confidence and afterward continually maligned."⁵⁵ "Our design in publishing the facts," the *Sun* said in 1880, was "to protect our own property against sneak thieves, and to prevent other possible robberies of the kind, by making punishment of this individual thief notorious."⁵⁶

Such journalistic mudslinging was a recognized sport in those days. Certain newspapers regularly vied with each other in their attempt to publish the most discreditable information about their competitors, filling their editorial columns with such scandal often to the exclusion of important political or educational news. The chief offenders included the *Sun*, *Herald*, *World*, and *Tribune*. Although the *Evening Post*, *Times*, and *Nation* were often critical, it would be impossible to find in them the abuse in which the others indulged. "Liar," "thief," "degenerate," "slanderer," were hurled relentlessly back and forth in a manner that the present-day public would not long endure. The newspaper staff seemed to enjoy the battles as much as the reading public.

They quarreled frequently over the Associated Press dispatches. Several, including the *Sun* and the *Tribune*, represented the news as coming from their own special correspondent. Arguments ensued in which each called the other a "liar" for pretending that it had a special correspondent of its own. The *Nation* became so disgusted that it published an article rebuking their boasting and lying.⁵⁷

⁵¹ Presumably May 15th. See *Sun*, May 22, 1869; also May 18, 19, 20.

⁵² May 27, 28, 1869.

⁵³ Apr. 8, 1870.

⁵⁴ May 2, 1873.

⁵⁵ July 11, 1872.

⁵⁶ June 10, 1880.

⁵⁷ Oct. 20, 1870.

Another theme of dispute was circulation. The *Sun* printed weekly reports of its sales at the top of its first editorial column and demanded that the others do likewise. If they refused, it said they were afraid; if they complied, it said they lied. It maintained that, while the circulation of the *Sun* increased, there was a noticeable corresponding decrease in the *Herald*⁵⁸ and the *Times*.⁵⁹

The *Evening Post*, long edited by William Cullen Bryant and taken over by E. L. Godkin in 1881, and the *Nation* the *Sun* characterized as well meaning but not faultless. There was discrepancy between the *Post*'s news stories and editorials. Said the *Sun*:

The totally depraved person who edits the news columns of the *Evening Post* is getting the better of the stern moralist who runs the editorial page of our esteemed contemporary. We merely state the facts. The stern moralist protests in vain, while the other gentleman seizes with avidity and prints with exultation the revolting details of the London Scandal, as fast as they come by cable. Can nothing be done to spare the stern moralist this annoyance? Yes, some common friend—if friend or acquaintance they have in common—might arrange for a personal interview between the generalissimo of the news columns and the commander-in-chief of the ethical department, with a view to a more harmonious management of the two establishments during tidal waves of foreign filth. Failing in this, the stern moralist might retain his old friend and former benefactor, Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, to apply to the courts for an injunction against the publication of immoral matter on the licentious first page of the *Evening Post*.⁶⁰

Dana's dislike of Godkin is not difficult to understand. In their earlier days they had views in common and Godkin attended Dana's evening receptions writing that he "was glad to be invited."⁶¹ But their characters developed very differently. Intellectual equals and both sensitive to the evils of their era, each met them in his own way—Godkin on principle, which made him impregnable; Dana by opportunism, which made him vulnerable, and with bitterness that warped his social vision. Dana knew that Godkin occupied an enviable position of influence and respect, but maintained that he was not taken seriously by men of scientific knowledge, that his editorial authority was treated as a joke, and that the

⁵⁸ Aug. 5, 1869.

⁵⁹ Oct. 11, 1869

⁶⁰ Sept. 9, 1885; *Autobiography of Lincoln Steffens*, 197: J. S. Seymour and Henry J. Linn, publisher and managing editor, "wanted to build up circulation and business by printing all the news"

⁶¹ Rollo Ogden, *Life and Letters of Edwin Lawrence Godkin*, I, 168.

Evening Post was held in contempt. He said that all cultivated persons regarded Godkin as a "stupendous humbug," a "systematic plagiarist" with a "congenital defect" that his friend and fellow reformer, Theodore Roosevelt, had correctly diagnosed when he said: "I do not believe the editor of the *Evening Post* has the wish or the power to tell the truth." ⁶² Dana's own position was regarded by many of his contemporaries as inferior to Godkin's. ⁶³ His power lay in a bitter and facile pen.

The *Sun* was also conscious of the authority wielded by the "priggish and self complacent" *Nation*, having discovered as early as 1869 that "The *Nation* itself is unsurpassed in its malignity toward politicians who do not enjoy the sympathy of its select circle of men of culture and influence." ⁶⁴ In 1881, after Godkin had become the editor of the *Evening Post* and the *Nation* had been sold to Henry Villard to be made into a weekly supplement of the *Post*, the *Sun* said:

Well, we say it with a sort of disappointment, the *Evening Post* is heavier, less original, less entertaining, less readable, than it was before.

And our snappish, conceited, semi-independent, well-informed, literary philosophical and creditable old crony, the *Nation*, has gone out forever!

There are some changes which are not improvements. Let us devote a moment or so to our regrets! ⁶⁵

When the "False Reporting *Tribune*" had been published by Greeley, the *Sun* had charged it with "wilfully misrepresenting" news. After Greeley's death, Dana pined for the good old days when the *Tribune* had for its editor a man of brains and integrity. ⁶⁶ He accused the *Tribune* of being a "stock jobbing organ." Jay Gould and the young editor Reid, whom the *Sun* considered utterly incompetent, "banded together to defraud the public"; ⁶⁷ and Reid was called a "stoolpigeon," a title as malignant as the term "sneak news-thief" applied to his predecessor. Reid was characterized as a young fop, a hireling with a brilliant mind that was neither capable of direction nor competent in a business world, without practical sense. The collapse of the *Tribune* was often predicted. ⁶⁸

⁶² Mar. 12, 1890.

⁶³ Personal interview with distinguished editor of contemporary magazine.

⁶⁴ July 12, 1869.

⁶⁵ July 22, 1881.

⁶⁶ June 26, 1881.

⁶⁷ Jan. 19, 1876; cf. Oberholtzer, III, 67-68.

⁶⁸ Apr. 27, 1876.

The New York *Times*, according to the *Sun* in 1889, "fears to face the truth and hates the facts as an Anarchist hates soap and water."⁶⁹ This was only one of the results of its having a British editor, Louis J. Jennings, with unpatriotic ideas which he forced upon the public. His paper, the *Sun* charged, was the organ of the Gold Ring during the lamentable Black Friday incident.⁷⁰ It was biased and unfair in its charges concerning Blaine and the Mulligan Letters episode,⁷¹ and was a liar when it claimed the *Sun* did not begin the exposure of the Tweed Ring.⁷² When the *Times* reduced its price in 1885 from four cents to two and came into closer competition with the *Sun*, the latter paper hesitated out of "journalistic courtesy" to point out the mistakes. In May of that year, it wrote what it called "A Few Plain Words":

When the *Times* reduced its price from four cents to two, it thought it necessary to lower at the same time the moral standard observed in the selection of matter for its news columns. It began to cater not accidentally and episodically, but steadily and in a line of deliberate policy, to the salacious tastes of those readers who are the better pleased the oftener their newspaper crosses the boundary separating decency from literature of the sort which the statutes prohibit and punish in the interest of public morals. . . .

The files of the *Times*, from the date of its reduction of price, presents a most revolting and at the same time most melancholy spectacle of perverted enterprise, and of self-respect sacrificed to the greeds of immediate gain. Our contemporary scoured the country for scandals of the vilest description. It disfigured pages that had previously been comparatively clean with the columns and columns of so-called news that no self-respecting newspaper in New York would dream of printing. This is a matter of record and indisputable fact, not merely of opinion. . . .⁷³

In contrast to the "Disreputable" *Times*, the New York *World* was, in the *Sun's* opinion, "dilapidated," "stupid," and "tedious." Under Manton Marble it was reported to be dying, and later, under Joseph Pulitzer, it was described as in decay. It manufactured debates in the Senate, and was the friend of Cuban slavery. In defense the *World* wrote: "The *Sun* has no moral character." And received the reply, "No, the *Sun* has not the moral character of a bastard swindler."⁷⁴

The *Herald* according to Dana was equally without principle or

⁶⁹ June 20, 1889.

⁷⁰ Oct. 12, 1869.

⁷¹ Aug. 2, 1884.

⁷² Mar. 27, 1872.

⁷³ May 11, 1885.

⁷⁴ Mar. 2, 1870.

character, and whenever its editor, James Gordon Bennett, Jr., left the city, the *Sun* sent hurried calls for him to return and stop the gushings of his paper. In 1879 it suggested that it would support Bennett for Mayor if he would come home in time.⁷⁵ Other papers and their editors in New York City and throughout the country received similar attention in the columns of the *Sun*, notably George W. Childs of the *Philadelphia Ledger*. His middle name, the *Sun* insisted, was "Washington," and to him it attributed all the absurdly sentimental obituary verse carried in his paper. Another victim was Richard Smith of the *Cincinnati Gazette*, known to the *Sun* as "Deacon," and for years depicted as a "truly great man" who was constantly being betrayed by his unscrupulous partners. As it happened, these partners had at some time offended Dana and this was his method of retaliating.⁷⁶

The treatment given by the *Sun* to Henry Ward Beecher, pastor of Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, and the "Free-Lovers" with whom he was supposed to have kept company, justifies criticism of the *Sun* as sensational and circulation seeking. In the sixties, religion was one of the most popular controversial subjects in America and the *Sun*, like the *Herald* under the elder Bennett, was clever enough to cater to the interest in religion. Dana was fairly tolerant toward unorthodox opinions and took no exception to the liberal views of Beecher. If he preached against hell, brimstone, and eternal damnation and presented God as a spiritual conception, the *Sun* replied:

He is not so much leading public opinion as indicating the current in which he has had the sagacity to perceive it is already running. As it has happened many times before in the history of intellectual progress, he comes in at a late date to profit by the labors of men who have preceded him, and who have suffered martyrdom for prematurely promulgating the views he now advocates with toleration if not applause.⁷⁷

Beecher first became Dana's target for attack when he officiated at the marriage of the divorced Mrs. Daniel McFarland and Albert D. Richardson. The *Sun's* attitude may have been affected by the fact that Mrs. McFarland and Richardson were both able writers for the *Tribune*. The scandal was intensified because the divorced husband shot Richardson in the *Tribune* office, and Richardson elected to marry Mrs.

⁷⁵ Apr. 9, 1879.

⁷⁶ Mitchell, E. P., *Memoirs of an Editor*, 116-117.

⁷⁷ Oct. 22, 1870.

McFarland on his death bed. That McFarland was morose, and a drinking man who had abused his wife while she lived with him,⁷⁸ never tempered the *Sun's* outraged reports:

The Astor House, in this city, was the scene on Tuesday afternoon of a ceremony which seems to us to set at defiance all those sentiments respecting the relation of marriage which regard it as anything intrinsically superior to prostitution. The High Priest of this occasion was Henry Ward Beecher, assisted by the Rev. Henry M. Field, D.D., and the Rev. O. B. Frothingham. The parties were Albert D. Richardson, lying, wounded by a pistol shot, upon a bed of illness, and probably of death, and Mrs. McFarland, alias Mrs. Sage, whom Richardson some time ago seduced from allegiance to her lawful wedded husband. . . .

And now, consider, married men of New York, husbands and fathers, by what frail and brittle tenure your homes are yours. If you fail in your business—and it is said that ninety-five out of one hundred business men at some time fail—then the younger and handsomer face of your widowed neighbor may charm away your wife; the laws of Indiana will grant a divorce to the fair truant, and Henry Ward Beecher, with the Rev. Dr. Field, of the New York *Evangelist*, standing at his right hand, and the Rev. O. B. Frothingham to implore a blessing on the sin, stands ready to marry her to the first libertine who will pay—not in affection, but in gold or greenbacks—the price of her frail charms! If it be said that poverty was not the only crime of McFarland, then rest easy, husbands and fathers, at least all of you who have uttered one impatient or petulant word!

Yes, it is the pious, the popular, the admired, the reverend Henry Ward Beecher who comes boldly and even proudly forward, holding by the hand and leading Lust to her triumph over Religion! Who can read the narrative and not wish that Plymouth Church were sunk into the ground until the peak of its gable should be beneath the surface of the earth! ⁷⁹

In November, 1872, Victoria Woodhull published in her *Weekly* a long and circumstantial account of an alleged liaison between Beecher and Elizabeth Tilton, the wife of Theodore Tilton, both of whom were members of Plymouth Church.⁸⁰ Thereupon followed a sensational trial, in which the *Sun*, as a daily newspaper, played a far from admirable part. Beecher may have been guilty of illicit relations with the wife of his friend; but Dana's offense in feeding the public daily details of this scandal is not minimized by that possibility. Not satisfied with the church investigation, the *Sun* demanded that a trial be conducted before a court and jury. It said:

⁷⁸ Seitz, Don C., *Horace Greeley*, 313–314.

⁷⁹ Dec. 2, 1869.

⁸⁰ Hibben, Paxton, *Henry Ward Beecher*, 283.

Either Mr. Beecher is an abandoned and adulterous monster, debauching the women and desolating the homes of his flock, or else Mr. Tilton is guilty of inventing and circulating a mass of cruel and indecent libels intended solely to blacken the reputation and destroy the usefulness of Brooklyn's most respected and America's ablest preacher.⁸¹

On August 27, 1874 the verdict of the church committee was given before a full church in Brooklyn: "We find from the evidence that Rev. Henry Ward Beecher did not commit adultery. . . ." This, however, ended the case neither in the *Sun*, nor the city. During 1875 it published 196 editorials concerning the affair, filling approximately 120 full columns of regular sized newspaper pages printed in extremely small type. And throughout 1876, there were full editorial reports of the trial, including all the evidence given by witnesses.

The *Sun* waited until February 1875 to pronounce Beecher guilty. In March of that year it began personal attacks upon him, by which it intended to drive him from his pulpit. It reported that he preached sermons of "gush and mush" and called him "odious," "hypocritical," "perjurer," "liar," "criminal," "adulterer," "debaucher," and "old grey-headed seducer." When the verdict of disagreement was rendered, the *Sun* considered it a miscarriage of justice. It demanded a new trial and called upon Beecher to "step down and out." It noticed the anniversaries of the Beecher case and urged the pastor to unburden his soul with confession that would "right the terrible wrong he has done his friends, his parishioners and religion itself."⁸²

In 1878, the *Sun* published a brief but complete confession by Elizabeth Tilton of her guilt with Beecher and wrote: "Henry Ward Beecher is an adulterer, perjurer, and fraud; and his great genius and Christian pretences only make his sin the more horrible and revolting."⁸³ In 1888, the *Sun* attacked Herbert F. Beecher, the son of Henry Ward Beecher, calling him an opium smuggler and saying that there was "scandal after scandal" in connection with his personal integrity and private life.⁸⁴ Dana's *Sun* outlived Beecher but did not let him rest in death. On the occasion of the unveiling of a bronze statue of him in Brooklyn in 1891, it revived the case and rejoiced because only a small number of clergymen attended the ceremony.⁸⁵

⁸¹ July 27, 1874.

⁸² Jan. 2, 1876.

⁸³ Apr. 16, 1878.

⁸⁴ Mar. 5, 1888.

⁸⁵ June 26, 1891.

The *Sun* also took great delight in making the work of Henry Bergh, who led the movement for the prevention of cruelty to animals in New York City, constantly ridiculous to its readers. In the beginning, either owing to a different staff of editorial writers, or because Dana was less prone to jest at what was worthwhile, whenever possible the *Sun* adopted a course of fairly sincere co-operation with Bergh's efforts. But as soon as Dana perceived the humorous possibilities of the reform, its policy changed. In those days, any city that used horse cars presented a heart-rending picture to a sympathetic animal lover. But according to the *Sun*, Bergh thought more of animals than he did of people, an assumption that led to his constantly being reported in its news columns and editorial page in comical situations. At one time he was trying to pass laws to imprison people for killing cats; at another he had struck a child for pulling a dog's tail; and again he was rubbing the lame legs of a horse while traffic surged in congestion.

Bergh was sensitive not only to the cruelty practiced upon animals but also to the strictures of the Board of Health, which became antagonistic toward him. He was sensitive to the press, which, probably following the *Sun's* lead, made him out to be a simpleton. Consequently he was forever defending himself from the abuse he received and trying to impress upon the people the necessity of the care of animals.⁸⁶

"The Man with the Dirty Mouth," or Joseph G. Cannon, came in for his share of *Sun* strokes. A man of strong words, with the bark of the backwoods still upon him, he had been swept on the Grant wave from Illinois to the House of Representatives in 1872.⁸⁷ He remained there during a span of fifty years.

In 1890, the Conger Lard Bill was introduced in the House. The tax which it sought to place on lard was, according to the *Sun*, devised to please the farmer by placing burdensome regulation on business. The opponents of the bill filibustered, breaking the quorum immediately after the call of the House had been taken. Cannon was provoked into a resolution ordering the Sergeant-at-Arms to telegraph all members who were absent without leave. The preamble to the resolution mentioned by name thirty or forty members who had absented themselves in order to defeat legislation.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Aug 9, 1872.

⁸⁷ Busbey, L. White, *Uncle Joe Cannon*, 125.

⁸⁸ Aug. 27, 1890.

McAdoo, of New Jersey, called Cannon's preamble an outrageous invasion of personal privileges. When Cannon rose to reply he resorted to vulgarity which shocked the women in the galleries. His Republican associates realized his impropriety, and the shrewdest among them urged him to have it stricken from the record. This was done.⁸⁹ But the *Sun* told its readers that "Uncle Joe" was the author of a speech too "filthy" to be reported and that he should be sent home to his constituents saturated with carbolic acid or some other powerful disinfectant. During his canvass for re-election in the Fifteenth District of Illinois, the *Sun* printed only the lower part of Cannon's face as a campaign picture. Underneath it wrote a scathing indictment, saying, "Let the picture of the dirty mouth of Joseph G. Cannon be reproduced in the columns of the local press. Then every constituent whom Cannon's mouth has insulted and humiliated will have a chance to scan its foul outlines."⁹⁰ The *Sun* continued its attacks upon Cannon. In 1891 it said, "The civil service reform humbug began in a joke of the late Samuel S. Cox and it now perishes at the hands, or rather by the mouth, of the Hon. Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois—truly an unworthy beginning and an ignoble end!"⁹¹

⁸⁹ Aug. 28, 1890.

⁹⁰ Sept. 4, 1890.

⁹¹ Feb. 16, 1891.

CHAPTER VI

NO KING! NO CLOWN! TO RULE THIS TOWN

ALTHOUGH gifted in ferreting out distant frauds, the *Sun* seemed short-sighted when gazing through its own windows into the streets below. Chicanery at Washington could arouse it to vitriolic anger; graft in New York felt its irony rather than its wrath. Tammany Hall, having sold its old home, had laid the cornerstone for a new building July 4, 1867. There, braves of the Society, led by their Grand Sachem, William M. Tweed, devised plans of treacherous warfare against the citizens of New York.¹ By May, 1868, the new building had cost \$300,000 and while no newspaper was aware of the extent of Tammany robberies already consummated, the *Tribune* suspiciously remarked: "It is not the property of this city, *though probably paid for out of the public treasury.*" "This assertion," the *Sun* replied, "is purely slanderous, and affords a new evidence of the unscrupulous character of the partisan press."²

While supporting Grant in 1868, the *Sun* took time to consider the Democratic candidate for Governor in New York. He was John Hoffman, Tweed's mayor, who, if elected, would provide an indispensable link in the Ring which was fast closing around the city's treasury. "The *Sun*, which—if we may venture an original and very striking suggestion—shines for all, has shown particularly for Mr. Hoffman." Arrangements had been made by Tweed to secure a Democratic victory.³ Although the Republicans won the State legislature, Hoffman was elected by more than 27,000 votes. This result, the *Sun* said, had apparently been accomplished by the exchange of votes in different parts of the State. "It is quite a rascally sort of political commerce that seems to have been quite extensively practiced."⁴

Hoffman as Governor did not fill all the needs of the Ring. It was important that a mayor of its selection for New York City should also

¹ Alexander, D. S., *A Political History of the State of New York*, III, 178.

² May 28, 1868.

³ Alexander, III, 213-214.

⁴ Nov. 5, 1868.

be in power. On November 18, the *Sun* was suggesting Peter B. Sweeny, an able lieutenant of Boss Tweed, for the office. Perhaps his scheming nature found greater satisfaction in working from behind the scenes. In any case, he was not nominated. Oakey Hall, socially ambitious, witty, debonair, clever as a speaker, and equally trusted by Tweed, was finally presented to the public as Tammany's candidate. The *Sun* published a humorous description of him:

Oakey Hall, in full war paint and feathers, with many scalps swinging at his girdle, and with a bottle of genuine fire water in his pocket is going about everywhere making speeches, dancing the war dance, and rousing the tribes that camp around the Old Wigwam to resist the onset of the foe. . . . One reason urged for the election of Sachem Hall ought not to pass unnoticed. It is urged that his great grandmother was a French woman, and all the French residents in the city ought to vote for him on that account, whether they are naturalized or not.⁵

Upon the election of Hall as mayor and the election of the entire State ticket for the third time, Tweed and Sweeny went to Albany, presenting to the legislature "a piebald and ill-digested charter" for New York City.⁶ Joining the cry of disapproval uttered by the New York *Times* and Samuel J. Tilden, the *Sun* said, the day before its passage in the legislature: "The Tweed charter, while its ostensible purpose is to effect reforms in our local administration, will really perpetuate the worst features of the present Ring rule."⁷

To combat the new charter, the *Sun* lent its support to the Young Democracy, a group of malcontents whom the *Sun* dignified by the term "Reform Democracy," encouraging them to pitch overboard "Squire Sweeny, the Know-Nothing Irishman Hall, Boss Tweed and the whole Ring."⁸ But Boss Tweed, with \$1,000,000, defeated them. According to Dana, the average price of a State Senator was \$17,777.⁹ Upon the retirement of this legislature the *Sun* said that it was undoubtedly "the most corrupt and infamous body that ever defiled its halls."¹⁰

By the passage of the Tweed charter the exchequer of the city was handed over to the thieves. Tweed as Commissioner of Public Works,

⁵ Nov. 26, 1868.

⁶ Mar. 30, 1870.

⁷ Apr. 4, 1870.

⁸ Feb. 26, 1870.

⁹ Mar. 30, 1870.

¹⁰ Apr. 27, 1870.

Sweeny as President of the Park Commission, Connolly as Controller, and Hall as Mayor formed the nucleus of the Ring, while Gov. Hoffman stood ready to do their bidding. The departments of health and police passed under their control; and the latter "turned over their property to themselves under the guise of the New Board."¹¹ Tweed, Connolly and Hall composed an *ad interim* Board of Audit entrusted with special power to investigate indebtedness incurred in the city before 1870. Stealing proceeded on an imperial scale. Ironically viewing the situation, the *Sun* proposed Tweed for Governor:

Has the *Sun* gone back on its friends with whom it fought the great fight of charter reform and got beaten? Nonsense! We say that Boss Tweed is the proper man for the Democracy to run for Governor next fall; and Harry Genet says so too. The justice of this opinion no discreet politician can dispute. Boss Tweed is a great man; rich, generous, without prejudices, spending freely the piles of money he extracts from the public treasury.¹²

When, after the election of 1870, the Tweed forces seemed more firmly than ever entrenched in the State and New York City governments, the *Sun* made a grotesque proposal. It solemnly suggested a statue to Boss Tweed:

At last we have got it started. New York has been too long without a statue of Big Six. The politicians are mean and hard to start but we have brought them to the point of putting up their money. They have appointed a Board of eight Trustees to receive subscriptions, employ artists, and erect the statue. . . . When the Board is completed and the Treasurer has given bonds, we shall be prepared to pay over the funds that have been confided to us for this patriotic purpose.¹³

The Executive Committee of the "Tweed Testimonial Association" met, according to a news account, and nominated officers, while other men signified their intention of co-operating. James Sweeny, James O'Brien, Commissioner Henry Smith, Senators Norton, Creamer, Bradle, Genet, Scott, Fowler, and others were reported to be interested in honoring the Tammany chief.¹⁴ Letters with contributions from ten cents to five dollars were received by the *Sun*. The location was humorously discussed: the trustees of the Tweed Monument Fund preferred Central

¹¹ Apr. 12, 1870.

¹² Apr. 16, 1870.

¹³ Dec. 22, 1870.

¹⁴ Jan. 4, 1871.

Park, while the *Sun* favored Tweed Plaza. It was to be the finest bronze statue in size and execution that the Western Continent might boast of.¹⁵ However, just as the committee was getting under way, the "Boss" himself was heard from. With lusty enjoyment of its own joke, the *Sun* printed the following:

A GREAT MAN'S MODESTY

THE HONORABLE WILLIAM M. TWEED DECLINES THE *SUN*'S STATUE

CHARACTERISTIC LETTER FROM THE GREAT NEW YORK PHILANTHROPIST—
HE THINKS THAT VIRTUE SHOULD BE ITS OWN REWARD—THE MOST REMARK-
ABLE LETTER EVER WRITTEN BY THE NOBLE BENEFACITOR OF THE PEOPLE.

Special Dispatch to the *Sun*.

Albany, March 13—Senator Tweed has just addressed the following letter to Judge Shandley:

I learn that a movement to erect a statue to me in the city of New York is being seriously pushed by a committee of citizens of which you, Judge Shandley, are the chairman. . . . I most emphatically and decidedly object to it. . . . I was aware that a newspaper of our city had brought forward the proposition, but I considered it one of the jocose sensations for which that journal is so famous. Since I left the city to engage in legislation the proposition appears to have been taken up by my friends, no doubt in resentment at the supposed unfriendly motive of the original proposition, and the manner in which it had been urged.

. . . I hardly know which is the more absurd, the original proposition or the grave comments of others, based upon the idea that I have given the movement countenance. I have been about as much abused as any man in public life; I can stand abuse, and bear even more than my share; but I have never yet been charged with being deficient in common sense.¹⁶

But the *Sun* persevered in urging upon the public a statue to Boss Tweed, a monument, it declared, which should have as its pedestal a public hospital to be known as the "Tweed Free Hospital." Such a hospital, it declared, would cause those who looked upon it to think only of the "humane purpose of the institution, and of the generosity of the distinguished philanthropist whose name it bore."¹⁷

¹⁵ Mar. 6, 1871.

¹⁶ Mar. 14, 1871.

¹⁷ Mar. 15, 1871.

Meanwhile, alarmed by charges in the *New York Times* and the pungent cartoons of Thomas Nast in *Harper's Weekly*, the Tammany robbers prepared to justify their handling of the city's finances. They invited John Jacob Astor, Moses Taylor, Marshall O. Roberts, and others to examine the Comptroller's books.¹⁸ When this committee could detect no evidence of knavery, the *Times* expressed its skepticism.¹⁹ But the *Sun*, along with many respectable citizens, accepted the findings of the committee and later discussed the financial condition of the city on the basis of its report.²⁰ Tammany continued to make plans for self-enrichment when they were interrupted by an important event.

County Auditor James Watson was fatally injured while sleigh-riding. On his death there were discovered certain accounts dealing with the widening and straightening of Broadway which placed the Tweed Ring in an awkward position.²¹ But the *Sun* refused to align itself immediately against the Ring. It accused the *Tribune* of gross exaggeration and misrepresentation when it asserted that Watson was "trustee for \$9,000,000 on account of property owners who had assigned 'their claims against the city for damages over to that gentleman in trust to pay the Ring its share, and to pay to the property owners their share of the proceeds.' " ²² A comparison between the *Times* and the *Sun* during the early months of 1871, before there was actual proof of the Ring corruption, is interesting. The following news excerpts, appearing the same day, each reporting the introduction of the same bill in the State legislature, fairly exemplify the attitudes of the two papers:

The Sun

MR. TWEED'S LEGISLATURE

Senator Tweed introduced a bill authorizing New York to acquire title and property in Putnam and Westchester counties for the better supply of water to New York. Jan. 4, 1871.

The Times

ALBANY

Senator Tweed gave notice of a bill to authorize the city of New York to negotiate for real estate to furnish an additional supply of water to the City—which means the purchase of Mr. Tweed's \$25,000 lake up the river which he bought last summer. Jan. 4, 1871.

¹⁸ Alexander, III, 245.

¹⁹ *Times*, Mar. 2, 1871.

²⁰ *Sun*, Aug. 8, 1871.

²¹ Rhodes, James F., *History of the United States*, VI, 404.

²² Feb. 7, 1871.

The *Times* relentlessly continued its attacks upon the Ring, but it could expect little help from its contemporaries, whose indifference was purchased through city advertising.²³ The *Sun* was one of the daily papers selected to publish the official proceedings of the Corporation of New York. Others included the *Herald*, the *World*, the *Staats-Zeitung*, the *Democrat*, the *Star*, the *Express*, the *Commercial Advertiser* and the *News*. As the *Times* continued its condemnation of the Ring, the *Sun* set upon it with withering attacks:

Is it true the editor of the *Times* . . . is such a coward that he wears a coat of mail under his shirt and carries a six shooter in each pocket?

This is the question of the day, and we are afraid the answer must be that it is true. It seems the little fellow has written something against Tammany Hall, and he is silly enough to suppose that he is going to be assaulted. Let him compose what he calls his mind. He is in no danger of being shot at; but he is in great danger of making a greater fool of himself. . . .

A year ago there was a chance of destroying the Tammany Ring. Led by the *Sun*, the Young Democracy had revolted. The revolt was powerful and its success seemed certain. . . . But the *Times* was not anxious to overthrow Tammany then; the city advertising satisfied its appetite; and when with cash and promises Tweed bought the Republican party in the Legislature, crushing the Young Democracy with their help, and planting Tammany on firmer foundations than ever, the dull and feeble voice of the *Times* condoned the transaction as the paper went on with the corporation advertising. But now this rich boon is taken from it, it launches out in a noisy hubbub against Tammany, which if it had any effect at all, would only confirm the power of the Ring.²⁴

The *Times* indignantly replied by accusing "Charles Assassin Dana" not merely of wholesale lying, but of "turning his paper into an instrument of levying blackmail."²⁵ Such accusations cannot be taken too seriously since it was still the practice of newspapers to hurl insults at each other, often with little foundation in truth. The temptation to believe that the *Sun* was bribed by advertising to support Tammany might be strong, had one not known the paper. Having condemned Tweed while he was entrenched in power, Dana, enjoying the unexpected, perverse, malicious and often opposing what was good while he upheld what was bad, did not need to be bribed to defend Tweed. In-

²³ Myers, Gustavus, 232. Myers bases this statement on *Document No. 8* (Minutes and Documents of the Common Council), 215-218; see also Franklin, Allan, *The Trail of the Tiger—Tammany*, 1789-1928, 77-79.

²⁴ Jan. 30, 1871.

²⁵ *Times*, Feb. 2, 1871.

deed, jealous of the *Sun*'s reputation for exposures, he later claimed that it had been the *Sun* and not the *Times* which overthrew the Tweed Ring.²⁶

The *Times* received its reward. James O'Brien, a leader of the Young Democracy, quarreled with the Ring and carried the Comptroller's accounts, in transcript, to Louis Jennings, the only editor whom he believed would accept them. A little later Matthew O'Rourke, a county bookkeeper, furnished similar transcripts of fraudulent armory accounts. On July 8, 1871, the *Times* began publication of the accounts.

Immediately following the *Times* exposures, the *Sun* had little comment to make. Its few editorials, comprising some four paragraphs in all, defended Connolly against accusations that he had not been attending to business: "He had been in his office attending to his duties all the while. The taxpayers of the city have no more conscientious and devoted servant than Mr. Connolly."²⁷ But by the end of July the *Sun* took cognizance of the evidence that had aroused the city's anger publishing a sing-song editorial addressed to the Mayor and Comptroller:

Hon. A. Oakey Hall and Mr. Comptroller Connolly, what have you to say in reply to the very serious charges and accusations preferred against you, and maintained and repeated from day to day, by the New York *Times*?

The charges are most grave. They are made with circumstance and particularity. Can you meet them? Can you refute them? We have waited long and patiently for your response.

Have you anything—in substance and in truth—why sentence should not be pronounced against you?

What say you?

We are reluctant to condemn—slow to believe.

What say you?

We must and will be true to the people. Have you anything to say?

If you have, let us hear from you today.

We have waited—and the impatient public have waited long enough.²⁸

The *Times* showed up the Ring so clearly that all journals and public-minded citizens finally joined in condemning their rascalities. There had been theft in the rental of armories, in the plans for the Viaduct Railway, in the construction of the courthouse, and in every project advanced by Tweed and his satellites. In September a mass-meeting in

²⁶ Mar. 27, 1872.

²⁷ July 15, 1871.

²⁸ July 31, 1871.

Cooper Union created the Committee of Seventy, charging it with the prosecution of the criminals. Connolly, suspecting the desire of the Ring to make him a scapegoat, turned over his office to Andrew H. Green, whom he appointed deputy comptroller. Although praising Tilden and the Democratic investigations, the *Sun* had no use for "hypocritical reformers" who for "partisan ends" met in Cooper Union. One of them was the *Sun's* old friend "Bed Bug" Roosevelt, who had run against Martin T. McMahon for Assemblyman in the Fourth District. To the *Sun* his very presence condemned the Committee of Seventy. Thenceforth Dana devoted himself to demanding the resignation of Roosevelt. Among typical headlines were "*Satan Denouncing Sin: Robert B. Roosevelt*," "Why Doesn't He Resign?" "Wash Your Own Hands First," and "How Mr. Roosevelt Got Sent to Congress by Tammany Hall." In less than two weeks, forty short editorials were written on the subject.²⁹

Ring members were soon fleeing. The West Side saw a hurried sale of real estate, property being offered below market value, providing, wrote the *Sun*, "cash could be paid before Wednesday, the day on which the European steamers sail."³⁰ Tweed was still a candidate for State Senator, although the *Sun* felt itself authorized to state: "The Hon. William M. Tweed is no longer a candidate for Governor."³¹ His arrest was imminent. With the aid of the experienced lawyer, Charles O'Connor, proofs were accumulated. Tilden, in a patient investigation of the Broadway Bank accounts, discovered vital evidence. The *Sun* on October 27 published the following:

Notwithstanding the drizzling rain, groups of politicians stood in the Park on the steps of the City Hall nearly all day yesterday, discussing the *Sun's* latest exposures of the Ring's villainies. The general opinion was that the end was nigh.

The figures in the *Sun*, said a seedy politician, a tall, well-dressed clerk in the Department of Public Works—it was lunch time—"are as plain as the nose on your face. You can read and understand 'em."

"Tweed's hands are clean," said the other. "It's Watson and Garvey. One's dead and the other's run away and they'll never know the truth."

Next day, the *Sun* recorded the arrest of Tweed.

Meanwhile the Democratic State Convention had assembled at Roch-

²⁹ Sept. 17, 1871–Oct. 2, 1871.

³⁰ Sept. 19, 1871.

³¹ Sept. 21, 1871.

ester, where it excluded the Reform delegation from New York City. "Not because," the *Sun* said, "a large majority of the Convention did not cordially approve of their opinions and purposes but because they could show no valid claim to admission."³² Supporting the Democratic candidates, praising Tilden, condemning the New York *Times*, and maliciously inquiring, "How many of the Committee of Seventy are secretly interested in hiding the robberies they are appointed to detect?"³³ the *Sun* half covertly supported Tammany until it was completely overthrown by the fall elections of 1871. In a congratulatory editorial on the victory for which it had neither worked nor expressed any desire, the *Sun* wrote: "By a common uprising of honest and patriotic men this city was yesterday redeemed from the sway of an oligarchy of thieves. . . . The good work was achieved by a combination of citizens hitherto identified with opposing political parties, joining together to save the Republic."³⁴

"Honest" John Kelly soon ruled in Tweed's place. With the aid of Tilden and other Democratic leaders he quickly reorganized Tammany, enlarging its general committee and making tactful appointments which recognized various dissenting groups.³⁵ The *Sun* supported this "reformed Tammany," which entered the fall elections of 1872 with Abraham Lawrence as its mayoralty candidate. Dana urged that it nominate the great merchant, Alexander T. Stewart, but Kelly had other plans.

"Vote the Whole Tammany Ticket" was the campaign cry during the fall of 1872. Quickly relegating James O'Brien, the candidate of the Apollo Hall Democracy, to obscurity, the *Sun* concentrated its effort upon the defeat of Lawrence's chief opponent, William F. Havemeyer, who had been nominated by the Committee of Seventy and endorsed by the Republicans.³⁶ Calling him a "bitter partisan," it also said he had aided and abetted a "pernicious sectarian appeal." "He is utterly unfit," it wrote, "at his age and in his condition to be Mayor of this great city."³⁷ If there were a riot, New York City would be ransacked, pillaged, and burned while Havemeyer was making up his mind what to do about it.

³² Oct. 7, 1871.

³³ Sept. 28, 1871.

³⁴ Nov. 8, 1871.

³⁵ Myers, 253.

³⁶ June 1, 1872.

³⁷ Oct. 19, 1872.

It posed the question: "*Query*: How much mind has the old gentleman left to make up?"³⁸ This was the year of Grant's Republican triumph, and both Lawrence and the Democratic nominee for Governor, Francis Kernan (whom the *Sun* also supported) were defeated. Havemeyer, according to the news columns of the *Sun*, received 6,000 majority.³⁹

The new mayor was cast in a mould which could please neither the *Sun* nor John Kelly. Havemeyer's championship of two police commissioners, Oliver Charlick and Hugh Gardner, who were too vigorous in performing their duty to achieve popularity, led to a quarrel with the Tammany Boss. Although the *Sun* admitted that "as a Police Commissioner Mr. Charlick has done more to suppress the vice of gambling than any of his predecessors, or any other man who ever lived in this city," it related that when he had been ill, prayers were offered all over Long Island that he might not recover.⁴⁰

These two police commissioners removed one Sheridan from office, an election inspector who was "a notorious corrupter of the ballot box." "Instead of being arraigned and punished they should have been commended and rewarded," Dana said. But since they had failed to give written notice of their act, as the law commanded, they were prosecuted at the instigation of Kelly. By a verdict of the Supreme Court, which the *Sun* called untenable, their places were vacated.⁴¹

When Havemeyer reappointed the police commissioners, Kelly attempted to bring new indictments against them. "It is not because they are guilty," the *Sun* said, "it is because they were reappointed by Mayor Havemeyer":⁴²

The great mistake of Mayor Havemeyer is that he will not be the slave of either Tammany Hall or the Custom House. If he were willing to be run either by John Kelly or Tom Murphy he might be a thousand times the dunderhead that he is and commit worse follies and blunders than he has ever committed, and yet pass with the people for the same square headed citizen and pious Methodist as before.⁴³

Soon the *Sun* was wondering when Governor Dix would remove Mayor Havemeyer. "That would be an interesting occurrence for such a dull,

³⁸ Oct. 23, 1872.

³⁹ Nov. 6, 1872; cf. Alexander, III, 302.

⁴⁰ July 9, 1874.

⁴¹ July 7, 1874.

⁴² July 13, 1874.

⁴³ July 11, 1874.

uninteresting time as this. Mr. Havemeyer might be much more useful as a martyr than he is as a Mayor.”⁴⁴

Upon Havemeyer's appointment of Richard Croker as marshal, in compliance with Kelly's expressed wish, a torrent of reproach was heaped upon him. Believing himself tricked by Kelly, and stung by public censure, Havemeyer attempted to prove the unworthy character of the Tammany Boss and of Kelly's friend, John Morrissey. In a letter published September 18, 1874, he said:

“I am going not only to charge but to prove, beyond any possibility of doubt, that you are one of the most consummate hypocrites that the people of this city have ever had in their midst . . . the combination between you and Morrissey to rule this city with absolute power will be so clearly shown, by an iron clad statement of figures and facts, to be the alliance of a gambler and a hypocrite that every reader will perceive at once its danger and its disgrace to our city.”

Kelly replied in the *Sun* of the same date that the Mayor's alleged discoveries were the “weak and malicious offshoots of his Honor's vindictiveness.” Three days later the *Sun* took up Kelly, saying that no man in the city had a better reputation, but unless he immediately defended himself from the Mayor's charges doubt would be cast upon his character. When his reply appeared Dana commended it. In contrast to the Mayor's “serio-comic chapter of political history,” John Kelly's defense was “a sharp statistical document, which will be read with interest.”⁴⁵

Kelly brought action for libel against Mayor Havemeyer, quoting in the complaint the charges that he (Kelly) had falsified the statistics of crime while Sheriff, had committed petty larceny and perjured himself, had collected money on false vouchers, and through fraud had committed the crimes of which William M. Tweed was convicted.⁴⁶ Havemeyer's sudden death on the day the trial was to begin left the evidence against Kelly unpublished. The *Sun* said of the dead Mayor:

It would have been well for his fame had he died two years ago. He was a man of honest intention, and never defrauded another of a cent; but his mind was crotchety, and upon the obstinacy by his purpose no light could even be brought to bear. But his death will revive kindness toward him, and all will regret his swift and appalling demise.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ July 24, 1874.

⁴⁵ Oct. 1, 1874.

⁴⁶ Oct. 9, 1874.

⁴⁷ Dec. 1, 1874.

Tilden became Governor on January 1, 1875. On March 18, he sent a message to the legislature which revealed vast fraud in the construction of state canals. It was, in the *Sun's* words, "a bombshell in the camp of those slippery politicians of both parties, who for years past have made our hundreds of miles of artificial water communication the means of plundering the treasury and filling their pockets."⁴⁸ The Governor at once incurred John Kelly's hostility. Only his hold upon the public enabled him to nominate candidates worthy of support when the Democrats met in the fall of 1875. The *Sun* supported the ticket. It believed that the principal figures, John Bigelow for Secretary of State, Lucius Robinson for Comptroller, and Charles S. Fairchild for Attorney-General, eminently merited election. And while upholding Tilden's nominees for State offices, Dana carried on an animated campaign to discredit Boss Kelly. Morrissey, having broken with Kelly, joined the Irving Hall Democracy where all anti-Tammany elements were welcome, and announced that he would run for the Senate from the Fourth District. The *Sun* encouraged him, seizing the occasion for a few remarks upon Whitelaw Reid of the *Tribune*:

Jay Gould's stool pigeon is in a bad way because John Morrissey is a gambler. How black the pot always seems to the kettle! But who took the millions from the Erie Railway? Who bought the *Tribune* and hired a young editor to concoct stock-gambling lies for him? Surely, it was not John Morrissey. John Morrissey had no stool pigeon to entice the simple into his nets. He never stole, nor does he act the part of a high-minded editor while all the time working for a stock gambler. He does not seek refuge from assault behind the policy of silence, but stands up manfully and makes a square fight with his adversaries. He is not a stool pigeon, nor does he wear the yoke of John Kelly. Oh, that he could give a little of his backbone to the young editor, now bent in servile and disgraceful toils.⁴⁹

The Democratic state ticket won a narrow victory in the November elections. Still the *Sun* attacked John Kelly and his organization. "Tammany had become odious in the city, the Senate, and the Nation," it said. "It has saddled itself upon the Democratic party." Sell Tammany Hall for a hotel, a theater, a church or a dry goods store, it urged; consign the played-out wooden Indian over the portals to ashes.⁵⁰

Next spring, as the time approached for the Democrats to hold their

⁴⁸ Apr. 1, 1875.

⁴⁹ Oct. 29, 1875.

⁵⁰ Nov. 5, 1875.

State convention, Dana reminded them how at the last election "the blunders, the stubbornness, the narrow, mistaken views, and the proscriptive spirit which controlled Tammany Hall" would have overwhelmed the Democracy had it not been for "the extraordinary vitality of the reforming ideas" of Gov. Tilden. Therefore the way to "relieve the party of its greatest danger" was to determine "the delegates of Tammany Hall shall not be received as representing the Democracy of this city."⁵¹

Indeed, although the eyes of the National Democracy were turned toward Tilden, John Kelly and the canal plunderers had no desire to see him in the White House, where with the presidential powers he might relegate them to a well-merited oblivion. When the State convention met in Utica the opposition to Tilden was strong. Only after the exclusion of a Morrissey delegation, did the Governor receive the endorsement for President from the State of New York.

The election in 1876 of the Democratic candidate for governor, Lucius Robinson, left the Tilden forces still in control at Albany. Tilden himself had revealed little strength of character in the disputed election. Nevertheless his old supporters tenaciously clung to his leadership, fearing that all hope of reform must be abandoned if Tammany were allowed to reign supreme. In 1877 they advocated renomination of the State officers who had been elected under Tilden; but Kelly and his friends preferred their own candidates and resisted the proposal. The *Sun* called a renomination of all the existing officials "fatuous." Such a step, it added, would injure Tilden himself. "The enemies of Gov. Tilden are saying that he is in favor of the renomination of the present State officers. He has been the object of many well-directed and vigorous assaults; but this one is the most formidable that he has ever encountered."⁵²

The Democratic State convention met in October. Its composition was determined by a resolution, which took control out of the hands of the old-ticket men, secured the ejection of anti-Tammany delegates, and provided a method by which the new ticket men could permanently organize the body in their interest. This made it clear a new ticket would be nominated.⁵³ In the ensuing campaign the *Sun* was neutral, but after

⁵¹ Apr. 4, 1876.

⁵² Sept. 9, 1877.

⁵³ Oct. 4, 1877.

the Democratic victories it resumed its war on Tammany.

Political interest in New York City in 1878 centered chiefly in the mayoralty campaign. It was certain that "Honest" John Kelly, check-mated in State politics, would try to gain control of the metropolis. The *Sun* was quick to see this and resist the danger. In late September it began an animated and superbly clever campaign to defeat "King" Kelly and drive from New York City his one-man power:

It seems to have been all hail, King John, at Syracuse yesterday.
This is all very well for the King.
But how about the people?
There may be a sweet by and by for them.⁵⁴

From that day on Kelly was "King," but not without the proverbial court jester. John Foley, a leader in the New York City Reform Association, became his "Clown." The Clown had a gold pen with which he provided jokes for the populace, and amused the King while the people toiled and sweated to meet their taxes. Going from business men to banker, the Clown obtained the signatures of a large number of men who agreed to meet in the Fifth Avenue Hotel and elect their own mayor; but the entire meeting was in reality in the "interests of Tammany." The Clown offered five names from whom a candidate should be chosen, but "let any one of these candidates be elected and the real mayor of the city will be Mr. John Kelly."⁵⁵ The slogan of the *Sun* became:

No King! No Clown!
To rule this Town.

The *Sun* suggested that some illustrated contemporary get up a cut descriptive of the reign of the King and Clown:

It should represent an average New York citizen with a ring in his nose and a chain attached in the hand of Mr. John Kelly; and following would be another average citizen, with a like ring in his nose and a chain attached led by Mr. John Foley. They should be headed for a polling place, over which in large letters should stare the inscription: "*Vote the Tammany Ticket!*"⁵⁶

The *Sun* urged the coalition of anti-Tammany forces throughout the city that a people's ticket might be presented in opposition to the pre-

⁵⁴ Sept. 26, 1878.

⁵⁵ Oct. 7, 1878.

⁵⁶ Oct. 24, 1878.

vailing one-man power. "The present week will tell the story," it said. "Long live the people—deposed be the King!"⁵⁷ Then suddenly fear seized upon the *Sun* lest the Republican managers support Tammany Hall by running a straight Republican ticket for local offices. "And what will our esteemed contemporary the *New York Times* say to it?"⁵⁸ The *Times* replied:

. . . the danger is daily diminishing of either State or city Republican managers being guilty of the combined folly and rascality of doing the work of Tammany Hall by refusing to combine with Democrats opposed to that organization of tricksters and plunderers. Should we be mistaken, we can assure the *Sun* that sincere Republicans have so little liking for being used in the interests of John Kelly, that they will refuse to vote for any "straight" party ticket for local offices.⁵⁹

When Tammany chose its ticket, the *Sun* commented:

The King and Clown met together with the King's Council last evening and put in nomination for Mayor the most objectionable man included in the list of five from which the Clown recently offered to the freemen of New York permission to choose their mayor. Mr. Schell is probably the only real Indian among the sachems of the Tammany society. He was found here by the first whites who settled on the Island of Manhattan, and at that early period was seeking office.

The King and Clown have made the issue before the people very square and very direct. They have presented a ticket which has nothing to recommend it except that it is the wish of the King and the Clown that it should be elected. The nominations are an open challenge to the people—a direct challenge to measure the strength with their King and Clown.⁶⁰

The day after Tammany nominated Augustus Schell, the *Sun* reported that Edward Cooper would probably be the anti-Tammany candidate. When the nomination was assured the *Sun* paid Cooper its highest compliment: "He is a Democrat, in the high, and true sense of the term." The *New York Times* said:

Let no Republican be frightened by the shallow pretense that a vote for Cooper is a vote for Tilden. What has got to be settled on Tuesday is not who shall control the Democratic party in this State, but who shall control the

⁵⁷ Oct. 14, 1878.

⁵⁸ Oct. 12, 1878.

⁵⁹ *New York Times*, Oct. 14, 1878.

⁶⁰ Oct. 20, 1878.

*forty millions a year of public money. That is the issue between Cooper, the people's candidate, and Schell, the candidate of Kelly.*⁶¹

Until election day the *Sun* continued to ridicule "King" Kelly and "Clown" Foley. Kelly was the Comptroller, not because of the office he held, but "because he controls everything."⁶² "A king by divine right, he condescends, out of his great goodness and generosity, to offer them a worthy candidate."⁶³

Tammany Down—with its King and Clown

Rise up, O People!⁶⁴

The election of the entire anti-Tammany ticket brought general congratulation from the press for deliverance from the rule of Tammany.

The newspapers could not let it remain undecided as to which of them was responsible for the overthrow of Kelly. In the flush of victory the *Times* and the *Sun* forgot their usual enmity. The *Times* said it was the *Sun* and the *Staats-Zeitung* which had been foremost in the defeat of the "King," while the *Sun* claimed the glorious victory had been achieved through the *Times* and the *World*. All spoke contemptuously of the *Herald's* part. Boss Kelly blamed his ignominious defeat on Dana, saying in a speech before Tammany:

The New York *Sun* from the very beginning of the canvass has misrepresented the condition of political affairs and the editor of that paper deserves—as he had falsified and misrepresented the real issues of this canvass—he deserves the condemnation and execration of the people for the injury he has done them.

It is said that that paper had a very large circulation, therefore we can understand how easy it is for the people who are busily engaged in business, and whose time is absorbed in managing their own private affairs, to be misled by statements published in such a paper as the New York *Sun*. He, in his paper, a short time ago had the word "Fraud" printed over the forehead of President Hayes. In order that he may be understood in the future he should have the word "Slanderer" written on his forehead that his name may go down to infamy as one of the press of this country who has been of more real injury to the people than can be compensated by any good he has ever done to them as an editor.⁶⁵

Kelly's remarks were followed by the production on the platform of a large caricature of Dana bearing the word, "slanderer."

⁶¹ New York *Times*, Nov. 3, 1878.

⁶² Oct. 21, 1878.

⁶³ Nov. 1, 1878.

⁶⁴ Oct. 28, 1878

⁶⁵ New York *Herald*, Nov. 6, 1878; *Sun*, Nov. 7, 1878.

Bolting the Democratic State convention in 1879, because of his dislike of Lucius Robinson's renomination, Kelly set himself up as an independent gubernatorial candidate of Tammany. Naturally his candidacy benefited the Republican nominee, Alonzo B. Cornell; it was nothing but an attempt at revenge. When he went on a speaking tour up-State the *Sun* described him as follows:

It is evident, from all the accounts of Mr. Kelly's proceedings in the interior of the State, that while the Republicans exert themselves to get audiences for him, the people generally flock to see him mostly from motives of curiosity, as boys rush to see a bison. As soon as he begins one of his dull speeches, destitute as they are of either wit or logic, a large part of the audience incontinently leave the hall.

We see no remedy for Mr. Kelly but for him to give peremptory "orders"—such as he feels he has a right to give—that every person who once enters the hall shall stay until the meeting is over.

Possibly the country people might obey his "orders" more obsequiously than the Governor of the State did.⁶⁶

Kelly's conduct inspired rumors of a growing alliance between Tammany and the Cornell managers. Several newspapers said that the action of the two Republican police commissioners, who championed Tammany's right to its share of poll inspectors, pointed unmistakably to a bargain, since it gave Tammany and the Republicans power to select a chairman at each poll. The *Sun* upheld Tammany's right to at least one-half of the Democratic commissioners, but said the entire controversy showed that no honesty of official action was expected by any party; while the only noticeable difference between Democrats of the past and Democrats of the present was: "Tweed paid money—Oakey Hall kept his—while the Robinson-Tilden party put everything on the pretense of principle."⁶⁷

In 1880, being refused admission to the State convention, Kelly again set up a "side show" assembling his own group in Shakespeare Hall where it passed resolutions opposing the convention's endorsement of Tilden for President. Later at the national Democratic convention Kelly and his delegates were excluded by a two-thirds majority, but their threats helped destroy whatever chances Tilden had of the nomination, the prize going to Hancock. Kelly was even more successful in in-

⁶⁶ Oct. 16, 1879.

⁶⁷ Oct. 4, 1879.

fluencing the choice of the mayoralty candidate. He agreed to take one from a list of several possibilities submitted by Irving Hall, his choice to receive the combined Irving Hall-Tammany nomination. This arrangement evoked an outburst from the *Sun*:

After all that has been said and sung, we have a king to rule this town. To add a clown would be superfluous, as the king answers, in one person, the purposes of both.

. . . If a man wants to run for the office of Mayor with any prospect of success, he has to be branded, like an ox, J. K. and to wear a collar, like a dog, with J. K. stamped upon it to show who owns him.

King and Clown
Ruling the Town.⁶⁸

The Irving Hall list included the wealthy merchant, William R. Grace, a Catholic, whom Kelly immediately selected. "Mr. Grace should command the united support of the entire Democracy," the *Sun* wrote on the day after Grace's nomination. But it was an unfortunate choice. A note soon appeared in the municipal campaign far more bitter than any in the national contest. The *Herald* objected to Grace because he was a Catholic. This aroused Kelly who resorted to a salacious attack upon James Gordon Bennett which he caused to be published in the *New York Express*. "This cannot be regarded as an attack upon the *New York Herald* alone," Dana said. "It must be looked upon as an attack upon the liberty of the whole American press."⁶⁹ Although he declared that "one man has the same right to be a Catholic that another has to be a Protestant," he promptly withdrew his support from Grace, stating the position of the *Sun* in the following editorial:

There are two grounds on which a distrust of the Catholic has widely prevailed among the Protestants. They relate to the free schools and free press. It has been apprehended that if the Catholics should obtain absolute control of the government of this city, an attempt would follow on their part to weaken the free schools and to curtail the freedom of the press.

This distrust may be merely a groundless prejudice . . . but the important feature of the matter is its public aspect. Is it to be understood that every journal in this city that sees fit to disapprove of the election of a candidate of a particular faith to office is to be silenced by some means, however atrocious, however foul?

Mr. Kelly wields today a tremendous power over the city of New York; a

⁶⁸ Oct. 18, 1880.

⁶⁹ Oct. 20, 1880.

power never before equalled in the hands of one man; a power which, this very occurrence warns us, cannot safely be intrusted to anyone. We have no unkind or unfriendly feeling toward him; nor objection to his holding office—the office of comptroller or any other for which he is qualified; but we warn him that if he attempts to lay so much as the weight of his little finger on the Freedom of the Press his sceptre will crumble to dust in his hold, and his now strong right hand will fall limp and powerless by his side.⁷⁰

When the Republicans carried New York State, thus electing Garfield over Hancock, and it became plain that Grace's candidacy was largely responsible for the Democratic defeat in both State and Nation, the *World* suggested that perhaps the *Sun* could shed some light on the mystery of Democratic defeat. The *Sun* believed that it could, and published an editorial headed, "John Kelly Did it."⁷¹ This statement, which told only the obvious truth, was reiterated for many days.

The *Sun* justly felt the need for a new Tammany which would not bear the odium of an alliance with human slavery at one date and with gigantic frauds at another. Irving Hall could not fill the place. The *Sun* said that Irving Hall had proved "nothing better than a second huckster shop, with a little greater appearance of respectability than Tammany, and a newer sign, but open for trade,"⁷² . . . Dana was tired of drumming up recruits for the Democratic party only to have them led at the end of four long years "not to victory, but into a ditch by a blundering political manipulator."⁷³ Mayor Cooper's action in refusing to appoint Kelly to the comptrollership was therefore greeted with approval.

Finally a Committee of Fifty was appointed to take over the work of reorganization and later a Committee of One Hundred appeared, led by Abram S. Hewitt, William C. Whitney and others. Thus the County Democracy was formed. The new organization fast gained form and strength.⁷⁴ By September the *Sun* recognized three competing factions, each of whom would want regular representation in the State convention: Tammany, Irving Hall and the County Democracy. The last named, said the *Sun*, "will base their claims on high and imposing grounds. They doubtless have a large constituency behind them. But, after all, the mass of the county Democrats seem to regard the County

⁷⁰ Oct. 31, 1880.

⁷¹ Nov. 6, 1880.

⁷² Nov. 8, 1880.

⁷³ Nov. 5, 1880.

⁷⁴ Alexander, III, 483-484; see also Myers, 261.

Democracy as only another anti-Tammany organization, a sort of successor of Irving Hall. Yet if they are determined that the party shall be successful in the fall, they will find a way to accomplish it.”⁷⁵ Meanwhile it urged all Tammanyites to carry “the odium of their participation over to the Republican convention where they properly belonged.”⁷⁶

The Democratic convention gave the party in New York State a new aspect. Both Tammany and Irving Hall delegates were rejected, while the County Democracy received full representation. This was made possible because upstate Democrats were weary of the annual conflicts between rival factions and the defeat of Hancock had obliterated their own discords. Daniel E. Manning, who had been brought forward in Tilden’s war against the Tweed Ring, played a prominent part in the convention; David B. Hill was chairman. The *Sun* felt new hope for the Democrats in the City and State.

At the elections, although the Republican candidate for Secretary of State, Joseph B. Carr, defeated William Purcell on the Democratic ticket, both houses of the legislature were placed in the hands of the Democrats. The County Democracy, in spite of the opposition of Tammany and Irving Hall, carried New York County by several thousand majority, securing four of the seven senators, twelve of the twenty-four assemblymen, and twelve of the twenty-two aldermen. It was evident that many of Kelly’s former adherents had joined the County Democracy, with which some prominent Tammany leaders were already affiliated.

The *Sun* praised the new organization: “This body is formed upon the right basis. It comes from the people, and leaves the control in their hands.” But Dana was dubious of its future:

It had not the sanction either of the State Convention or of the State Constitution. As it is, it has only added another faction to the number of Democratic factions previously existing. It is undoubtedly more respectable and, from its popular nature, more truly Democratic than either of its competitors; but it does not accomplish the great end of combining all Democrats in one united, harmonious, and efficient party.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Sept. 11, 1881.

⁷⁶ Oct. 4, 1881.

⁷⁷ Nov. 11, 1881.

The Tammany Tiger soon revived. Kelly proceeded to Albany, where with three senators and eight assemblymen he could hold the balance of power. Not until the Democrats had agreed to placate him with chairmanships, representation on committees, a share of offices, and the exclusion of John C. Jacobs from the Presidency of the Senate was the Assembly able to choose its speaker. A fortnight later, claiming they had failed in their part of the agreement, Kelly deserted the Democrats to help the Republicans modify the rules of the Senate. To the amazement of the anti-Tammany forces Kelly was suddenly stronger than before. The *Sun* charged that he was no longer a Democrat, but a Republican. "Nothing has happened for years," it said, "which should so much encourage every sincere Democrat as the open transfer of John Kelly and his followers to the ranks of the Republicans."⁷⁸

The Republican incumbent as governor, Alonzo B. Cornell, elected in 1879, was destined to become the victim of a leader of his own party. Having refused to lend more than passive support to Conkling during the Senatorial campaign which resulted in his final defeat, he further incensed the Stalwart leader by courageously refusing to approve legislation in the interest of Jay Gould. Cornell, who wanted to be renominated, had made the mistake of accepting the coalition between Tammany and Republicans in the legislature, causing the *Sun* to criticize the Cornell-Kelly union.⁷⁹ At the convention the Half-Breed strength which supported Cornell was abruptly shattered by the appearance of a forged letter which resulted in a complete change in the complexion of the State Committee. In consequence, Charles J. Folger, Secretary of the Treasury, was nominated to carry the stigma of Republican chicanery.⁸⁰ Many disgusted Republicans urged the Democrats to nominate a man for whom they could cast a ballot without sacrifice of principle.

Eleven days before the Democrats met in convention the *Sun* noticed that Grover Cleveland, Mayor of Buffalo, was being considered as a gubernatorial candidate by papers in the western counties. It offered this observation: "The fact that he is a bachelor, though forty years old and handsome, must especially weigh against him. We dare say he might make an excellent candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, even now,

⁷⁸ Feb. 23, 1882.

⁷⁹ Feb. 22, 1882.

⁸⁰ Sept. 23, 1882.

but for the higher office he should be required to wait until after he is married.”⁸¹ At the convention Tammany let it be known that it wanted Roswell P. Flower, while the Tilden group emphatically preferred Henry W. Slocum. Neither candidate was acceptable to the County Democracy. Cleveland’s strength lay in his disassociation with any faction and his reputation as the “veto-mayor” of Buffalo. After balloting twice the convention suddenly nominated Cleveland, with David B. Hill in second place on the ticket.

In the days that followed Dana gave Cleveland sincere support. “No one can study the record of his career since he has held office in Buffalo without being convinced that he possesses those highest qualities of a public man, sound principle of administrative duty, luminous intelligence, and courage to do what is right, no matter who may be pleased or displeased thereby,”⁸² said the *Sun*. It further praised his letter of acceptance as plain and practical, saying that in contrast to the Republican candidate, Mr. Cleveland had not obtained his nomination by forged proxies, corrupt bargaining or trickery.⁸³

Probably no newspaper anticipated the actual results of November 7, 1882. The majority given Cleveland was more than double that given to Tilden in 1874. “This tremendous result,” the *Sun* wrote, “has been effected by the throwing of Democratic ballots with Grover Cleveland’s name printed upon them; not by the withholding of Republican ballots bearing the name of Folger.” The rebellion against Stalwart trickery had been statewide. In New York City, where the Citizens Committee, with Republican support, had nominated Allan Campbell for mayor, the Democratic victory had swept the Tammany candidate into office.

It would have been astonishing had the *Sun* not changed its attitude toward Cleveland. All who would naturally become his adherents were its sworn enemies. Reformers, Mugwumps, “disappointed office seekers,” “hypocrites” and “shams” would rally around the new Governor. It scarcely seems necessary, considering the character of Cleveland and the character of the *Sun*, to explain its steadily increasing hostility toward him. But some writers have recalled that the *Sun* was bitterly hostile to Greeley, who dismissed Dana from the *Tribune* office, and to Grant who did not name Dana Collector of the Port, and have sought a

⁸¹ Sept. 13, 1882.

⁸² Sept. 30, 1882.

⁸³ Oct. 10, 1882.

special and selfish motive for Dana's attitude toward Cleveland.

According to Alexander K. McClure, Dana had written a personal letter to Cleveland asking the appointment of his friend, Colonel Franklin Bartlett, to the position of Adjutant General:

His chief purpose was to give a position on the staff to his son, Paul Dana, who is now his successor in the editorial chair. Cleveland received that letter as he received thousands of other letters recommending appointments, instead of recognizing the claim Mr. Dana had upon him for the courtesy of an answer. . . . When it became known that Dana felt aggrieved at the Governor, some mutual friend intervened and proposed to Cleveland that he should invite Dana to dine with some acquaintances at the Executive Mansion. To this Cleveland readily assented. Dana was informed that Cleveland would tender such an invitation if it would be accepted and promptly assented. Cleveland then became involved in the pressing duties of the Legislature and allowed the session to close without extending the promised and expected invitation to Dana. . . . Dana naturally assumed that Cleveland had given him deliberate affront and Cleveland could make no satisfactory explanation.⁸⁴

The story that Dana asked for the appointment is true; while the belief that his change in attitude toward the Governor resulted from the fancied snub is supported by the appearance in the *Sun* on December 11th of an item naming the men chosen by Cleveland as his staff, together with the following paragraph which reads like a veiled threat:

Governor-elect Cleveland will run a gauntlet of National Guard critics today when his appointments of staff officers are read, and perhaps he will get a foretaste of the unpleasant side of office holding. These appointments are among the least important he will have to make, but they sometimes give a Governor not the least of his troubles. The gentlemen who are willing to fill these ornamental offices are many, and the places are few.⁸⁵

Next day the *Sun* said, "We fear that Brother Cleveland is less gifted with good sense than people have been led to suppose. It is a pity—rather." Before the month passed it resorted to a facetious analogy: "There is still wisdom in the proverb which advised against buying a pig in a poke." The *Sun's* offensive against Grover Cleveland had begun.

Soon after Cleveland's inauguration he came into conflict with Tam-

⁸⁴ McClure, A. D., *Our Presidents*, 314; see also 312–315. That this incident contributed to Dana's attitude toward Cleveland is believed by Mitchell, E. P., *Memoirs of an Editor*, 327–329; Nevins, Allan, *Cleveland*, 148; Peck, Henry, *Twenty Years of the Republic*, 263–264.

⁸⁵ Dec. 11, 1882.

many by his veto of the Five Cent Fare bill, a measure sponsored in the Senate by Boss Kelly's henchman, Thomas Grady. It appealed to citizens not only because of their dislike for Jay Gould who controlled the elevated roads, but because they preferred to ride for five cents instead of ten cents. "We see no reason why the Governor should be expected to refuse his signature,"⁸⁶ the *Sun* said. But the measure was unconstitutional and as the Governor explained, against the interests of rapid transit which thus far the State had been at great pains to encourage. In view of its unconstitutionality, the *Sun* joined other papers in upholding Cleveland's act.⁸⁷ Tammany was displeased with Cleveland on still other grounds. The Tiger was getting thin, few appointments had been given it, and its every design seemed to meet an untimely end. Patronage and spoils were taken from it by Cleveland's measure placing harbor masters on salaries, thus depriving them of exorbitant fees collected without legal warrant. By April it was clear that the policy carried out by the Governor in the immigration department was to be applied to all branches of the State Governments.

Tammany had co-operated to the extent of passing a bill which placed the immigration department under a single commissioner to be appointed by the Governor. But when, with the authority granted him, Cleveland chose William H. Murtha for commissioner, Tammany Senators joined with the Republicans to prevent his nomination being confirmed. The *Sun* claimed that they did this "chiefly because he [Murtha] would not promise them any share in the patronage of the office." It added:

It seems probable, indeed, that Tammany Hall has blocked the way to an important reform which every good citizen and true Democrat ought to favor. Nevertheless, we believe that even the opposition of that faction might have been overcome by the simple force of character of a Governor, if we had one, whose ability and political sagacity fitted him to be a leader.⁸⁸

The legislature adjourned in the throes of a deadlock, leaving Murtha's nomination unconfirmed, quarantine commissioners, port wardens and harbor masters unappointed. But before it went home it had received a message from Cleveland in which he plainly stated his indignation at the churlish and greedy conduct of the Senate majority. The *Sun*

⁸⁶ Feb. 17, 1883.

⁸⁷ Mar. 3, 1883.

⁸⁸ May 6, 1883.

entitled it "The Governor's Mistake."⁸⁹ Believing that Cleveland would have been justified, if as a plain citizen and Democrat he had expressed his contempt for the legislature, it regretted that his indignation had been set forth in an official document:

To illustrate the impropriety of the Governor's course, let us suppose that the Senate had seen fit to send him a similar communication questioning his motives, for example, in making some of the appointments which he has made. Suppose the Senate had charged him with an "overweening greed for patronage" in causing Mr. John A. McCall, the new Superintendent of Insurance, to appoint an unknown deputy from Buffalo. Would such a communication be the respectful treatment which one department of the State government should show another? But if the Senate, as such, has no right to impugn the motives of the Governor what right has the Governor, as such, to impugn the motives of the Senate?⁹⁰

In October, Cleveland wrote Kelly a letter in which he expressed his desire that Senator Grady, the pliant tool of the Boss, be not returned to the Senate. After the press published this frank communication, the *Sun* took occasion to refer to it now and then as that "unaccountable letter."

The second year of Cleveland's term found young Theodore Roosevelt, an enthusiast for reform, again in the legislature, where he had already given hint of his boundless energy in tracking down graft. The combination of Cleveland in the executive mansion and Roosevelt as Assembly leader, working hand in hand, was destined to produce good. But the *Sun* pointed out the supposedly partisan character of Roosevelt's activities in such statements as the following:

SMART

Investigating a Democratic Commissioner of Public Works in this city.

Investigating our Democratic Sheriff.

Investigating our Democratic Registrar who has been in office less than a month.

We do not notice that any Republican office-holders are undergoing investigation.⁹¹

Having been appointed chairman of the Committee on Cities, Roosevelt went to work in a way which *Harper's Weekly* said caused the

⁸⁹ May 13, 1883.

⁹⁰ May 6, 1883.

⁹¹ Jan. 30, 1884.

older members of the legislature to tremble. First, he wanted to put enough power directly into the hands of the Mayor of New York to free him from boss rule. To effect this he drew up legislation denying the Aldermen, notoriously the creatures of Kelly, the right to confirm mayoralty appointments. To prove that the Mayor was unfit for such independence, the *Sun* declared that Mayor Edson had achieved his office through a promise to nominate three Tammany commissioners and divide the remainder of his patronage equally between Tammany and the County Democracy. But regardless of opposition, Cleveland promptly signed the two bills which aimed at this reform and, in addition, a third which eliminated blackmail and introduced economy in various county offices.

When all eyes were thus turned toward the Governor, Cleveland opened himself to the attacks of his enemies, and even the suspicion of friends, by vetoing the Tenure-of-Office Act. This legislation authorized the Mayor of New York to appoint the Registrar and Commissioner of Public Works, and was intended to remove from office a political lieutenant of Manning, Hubert O. Thompson, who, investigation had shown, was inefficient, extravagant, and corrupt. Cleveland penned the veto because the bill was so poorly constructed that it would not necessarily cause Thompson's removal, beside being inconsistent, defective, and shabby.⁹² The *Sun* regarded the bill simply as a piece of "political hostility."⁹³ In editorials preceding and following the investigation of the department of public works, it upheld Thompson.

Hill, succeeding Cleveland as Governor in 1885, soon made the State aware of his caliber. Greedy for patronage, he vetoed the census bill, recommending instead the appointment of census enumerators by county clerks. His other vetoes, attitude toward civil service, and his course in general caused the *Times* to repudiate him as a party leader. It declared he had not only forfeited all hope of Independent support but alienated even the disinterested and high-minded of his own party. "The Mugwumps," commented the *Sun*, "abuse Governor Hill because he is a Democrat. The old Republican leaven is still working beneath the Mugwump crust."⁹⁴

Although the County Democracy hoped to outwit the ambitious Hill

⁹² Nevins, 142.

⁹³ May 15, 1884.

⁹⁴ May 29, 1885.

with such a candidate as Edward Cooper or Abram Hewitt, it was found at the convention that Hill had builded well. To the delight of Dana, he became a leader of the opposition to the Cleveland organization. With Irving Hall and Tammany swinging into line, his nomination was easily effected. The dark spots in Hill's past, brought into light during the campaign, were explained in the *Sun* as distorted imaginings of the Mugwump mind. Six months after Hill was elected Governor, Kelly died. The *Sun*, which had become more friendly to him after Hill's appearance, said:

The death of John Kelly was not unexpected, but it affects the mind with the sincerest sense of a public loss. For the last ten years Mr. Kelly was perhaps the most influential inhabitant of a solid foundation of disinterestedness and of devotion to the public welfare. He was always a Democrat. . . .⁹⁵

The new power in Tammany, Richard Croker, began his career in characteristic fashion. Perceiving the influence magnetic Henry George exerted over labor, Croker attempted to bribe him with "fat fees" and a good office to quit his agitation. When George could not be bought off, Croker determined to destroy his leadership. Thus Tammany leaders agreed to the nomination of Abram S. Hewitt, of the County Democracy, for Mayor.

The *Sun* had not considered Hewitt a fit candidate for Governor one year previous. But it supported him now for Mayor. During the campaign it compared Hewitt favorably with George and with Theodore Roosevelt, who had been nominated by the Republicans:

Mr. George is the most brilliant and plausible writer of the three, an acute reasoner and popular orator. Mr. Roosevelt is a painstaking historian, a spirited and indomitable politician, a mighty hunter and the handsomest man of the three, in his own style. Mr. Hewitt is a cyclopedia of knowledge, the head of a great business, who has come to riches without wronging any man, and has always been both just and generous to his workingmen; at once a student and a man of affairs. He is somewhat impulsive and cannot sleep well; but New York wants the most wideawake man she can get. Though an enthusiast he doesn't arouse as much fiery enthusiasm as Mr. George, but he has more solid staying power. Mr. Roosevelt has a better constitution than Mr. Hewitt, but this advantage is perhaps more than set off by the fact that the younger candidate is supported by the Committee of One Hundred.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ June 2, 1886.

⁹⁶ Oct. 17, 1886.

There was an increasing mistrust of Hill. Those who favored Cleveland hoped he would not be renominated for Governor in 1888; but the *Sun* said Hill should be nominated for President.⁹⁷ When the investigations of the J. Sloat Fassett committee showed that he had played a treacherous part in the building of the City Aqueduct, Dana declared that these charges never touched him, that they were nothing but noise.⁹⁸ For all the support given Hill this year, Dana could not wholeheartedly support Hugh Grant, Croker's candidate for Mayor of New York. So the *Sun* advised its readers to vote for the re-election of Hewitt.

When Hewitt was beaten, the *Sun* blamed not so much the opposition of Tammany Hall as the support of the *Times*, and of the *Evening Post*. These papers had put him, said the *Sun*, in a "notorious Voter's Directory as a good man who would stand the Mugwump test of political 'independence' and piled a load on 'Father Abram's' back heavy enough to crush the gallant old runner down before he got within sight of the winning post."⁹⁹

With the first real Tammany Mayor since the days of Tweed, Croker came into his own. By April, 1889, the Boss was chosen City Chamberlain with a salary of \$25,000 a year. It was the same office Sweeny had held. "We commend this appointment," the *Sun* said, "Mr. Croker is capable; he is honest; he is faithful to the Constitution. . . . The office upon which Mr. Croker enters has long existed. It is ancient, respectable, lucrative, and useless."¹⁰⁰

The Tammany thieves were soon hampered by further exposures. According to the *Sun*, "the investigation which the Fassett committee are now conducting has, as everyone understands, for its objective point the discrediting of Mayor Grant with the voters who have given by their suffrages such frequent and flattering testimony of their confidence in his courage and probity." Dana was ready to censure those who were proved corrupt, but he heartily deplored the methods of the investigating committee. Under the title "A Disorderly Investigation," the *Sun* sympathized with Mayor Grant, whom it said the examiner had insulted. The people of New York were not in the least concerned whether one or the other of the combatants were in the right, according to Dana, but they were concerned "in having an important legislative investigation

⁹⁷ Mar. 7, 1888.

⁹⁸ Apr. 13, 1888.

⁹⁹ Nov. 7, 1888.

¹⁰⁰ Apr. 10, 1889.

conducted with decorum and decency.”¹⁰¹

Blackmailing, favoritism, and corruption were revealed, but the *Sun* set forth reasons for supporting Tammany in the next elections: “It is not to be forgotten that a very large body of Democrats, even while not sharing the view of Tammany leaders in respect to municipal questions, have come to regard Tammany Hall as the only trustworthy conservator of real Democracy in New York City.” It dilated upon Tammany’s courageous battle against the proposed property qualification for voting; its battle against Know-Nothingism, and its “honorable” resistance to the civil service. According to the *Sun*, Tammany further added to its glory by taking a stand against the proposed educational test to accompany manhood suffrage.¹⁰² By concentrating attention on these points, Dana sought to minimize the evidence of corruption within the organization. But he was not successful.

Citizens were incensed at the dishonesty in their government. Ministers pleaded for a reform movement. The *Sun* reported: “A lot of sly old politicians who pretend to be non-partisan within the limits of the city of New York, and a lot of guileless parsons whose tongues are stronger than their heads in the matter of politics, are engaged in trying to persuade the citizens of this town that its municipal Government is singularly inefficient, extravagant, and corrupt.”¹⁰³ The candidate of the reform People’s Municipal League was Francis M. Scott, who had an ideal record. But the *Sun* said: “He is a bumptious, elbowing, though moderate fellow, who has lived on politics for several years past and fared much better than he could have done in his profession as a lawyer.” It added: “The great city of New York would be a dismal place if this pharisaical gang could accomplish their purpose.”¹⁰⁴

Simultaneously Dana eulogized Grant, who was renominated by Croker, and said of the Tammany slate: “An emotional and wavering cry for reform, or for another set of fellows in their places is all that is heard against them.” The Municipal League had felt certain of winning, but national politics contributed to a Democratic victory. “Now that this emotional and hysterical canvass is over,” commented the *Sun*, “we suggest to the deluded but honest-minded citizens engaged in it to take a fair look at the city government and see how good it is. . . . Its re-

¹⁰¹ Mar. 21, 1890.

¹⁰² May 6, 1890.

¹⁰³ Oct. 28, 1890.

¹⁰⁴ Oct. 11, 1890.

election carries with it promises of still further usefulness of the highest public benefit.”¹⁰⁵

On the morning of February 14, 1892, Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst awakened his congregation in the Methodist Square Church with what he called “The First Gun of the Campaign.”¹⁰⁶ It was directed against the police and their relations with Tammany Hall, liquor interests, and criminals. The *Sun* reported that Parkhurst had preached a sermon in which he denounced “the Mayor and those associated with him in administering the affairs of this municipality as ‘polluted harpies’ that, under pretence of governing the city, are feeding day and night on its ‘quivering vitals’ and as a ‘lying, perjured, rum-soaked, and libidinous lot.’” Mayor Grant was characterized as “a monster and not a man,” and an official careless of the public interests and false to his oath. Either, the *Sun* said, he spoke from knowledge and with precise facts to support his charges, “or he is a vile liar and slanderer who should be driven from the Christian pulpit and subjected by the civil law to the criminal punishment he deserves.”¹⁰⁷

Dana went further. He thought it not sufficient that the Grand Jury make a presentment to the public designed as a rebuke to Dr. Parkhurst for his sermon of February 14th. The *Sun* demanded that the District Attorney refuse to allow “his cause to be passed by with simple exposure and reprimand. Dr. Parkhurst should be indicted,” it said, “tried, and convicted as the slanderer he is.” Undaunted, Parkhurst reiterated his attacks and defended his sermon. This time he was wise enough to procure proof of his charges. Having criticized the *Evening Post* and the *New York Times* for their sympathy with the vice crusade, the *Sun* now resorted to sensational attacks upon the ministers. To Parkhurst’s appeal for money to aid investigations, it replied:

When he visited several vicious resorts after midnight, a few weeks ago, under the pretence that he was an old reprobate from the West, he was obliged to pay a large price to the wretched women who received him in order to induce them to make shameful and shameless exposures of themselves in his presence. Nor has he denied that he went to further expense to inflame them with wine, so that they might be more unguarded in their disgraceful behavior.

Of course, therefore, if Dr. Parkhurst is to keep up this sort of detective work, visiting in turn all the disreputable haunts in the town, it will cost a “great deal

¹⁰⁵ Nov. 5, 1890.

¹⁰⁶ Parkhurst, C. H., *Our Fight with Tammany*, 8.

¹⁰⁷ Feb. 17, 1892.

of money" as he says: but we do not see why the citizens of New York should be called upon to pay for such a gratification of his morbid curiosity.¹⁰⁸

The "Great Police Shake Up" in April was merely a bluff on the part of the Tammany machine to quiet things, and the new Police Inspector, Thomas Byrnes, a coarse, bluff individual, had no intention of reform. While the *Sun* apologetically admitted that the changes in the Police Department were "in part" provoked by the wholesale charges of corruption, "the main motive," it claimed, was "of course improvement in the efficiency of the department"; then added: "The new arrangement indicates also that the Democratic government of New York is an efficient government for the lawless. If any improvement results from it, the happy consequences will be a further proof of the advantages to this town of Democratic unity."¹⁰⁹

Dana tried to prevent the appearance of an anti-Tammany ticket in the municipal elections that year by insisting that, "In New York there is now no anti-Tammany Democracy which amounts to anything." "A ticket in opposition to Tammany might attract the support of blather-skite preachers like Dixon, and procure the favor of the infamous parson, Parkhurst; but it would not get more than five or six thousand votes at most."¹¹⁰

The Democratic victory of 1892 encouraged Croker and Hill. Early the next year they determined to elect William Sulzer Speaker of the Assembly and Edward Murphy, Jr., United States Senator, and reappoint Isaac H. Maynard to the Court of Appeals. With Sulzer, control of legislation in Albany would be facilitated; while Murphy could be relied upon in Washington. Although his unfitness was well known, Dana commended him, saying, "Personally Mr. Murphy is a man of rather distinguished presence, of a certain courtly finish and formality of manner, and the address acquired by those who have enjoyed the advantages of education." "Mr. Murphy may be expected to be heard from in a manner to put at rest all question of his ability to represent the principles of his party and the people of his State."¹¹¹

Meanwhile efforts were being made to conciliate the President-elect, who was too well aware of Murphy's character. But Cleveland made it

¹⁰⁸ Mar. 31, 1892.

¹⁰⁹ Apr. 21, 1892.

¹¹⁰ Oct. 2, 1892.

¹¹¹ Jan. 1, 1893.

publicly known that he did not approve of Hill's choice. "The normal responsibility devolving upon the Democrats who meet in legislative caucus tonight," said the *Sun* on January 10, 1893, "has been greatly enlarged through the unfortunate success of President-elect Cleveland's too influential advisors in getting him to inaugurate a Presidential crusade against a certain Senatorial candidate." Dana asserted that Murphy must be used to vindicate the constitutional provision that Senators in Congress shall be chosen by the legislatures of the States they represent.¹¹² After his election, the *Sun* commented: "It is to be hoped devoutly that hereafter no President-elect will ever impose upon any important division of his party the unavoidable duty of administering to him a manifest rebuke."¹¹³

The growing indignation and disgust of New Yorkers with Tammany, fed by the disclosures of Parkhurst's Society for the Prevention of Crime, resulted in a Republican victory in the 1893 elections. On January 25, 1894, the Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution asking for an investigation of the Police Department.¹¹⁴ Shortly an investigating committee, with Clarence Lexow as chairman, was appointed by the Republican Senate. It arrived in New York the first day of February.

The *Sun* described this committee as composed "of experts from the sugar bushes of Herkimer, the lumber camps of Franklin, the hopyards of Oneida county, and from other localities somewhat remote from the metropolis." Its arrival was pronounced "an unwarranted and unnecessary but not gratuitous invasion."¹¹⁵ Parkhurst himself was wary of the committee, believing that secret political influences were at work and that it had come "not to investigate the Police Department but to investigate our investigation of it."¹¹⁶ Two days after the committee began taking evidence the *Sun* wrote:

We violate no confidence in declaring that the Lexow Committee which, like the wild man of Borneo in the familiar college song "has just come to town," with William A. Sutherland as its guide, has two objects in view. Its first and primary object is partisan. The Republicans have not been carrying any elections in New York since control of the Legislature passed from their hands into the hands of the Democrats. For a considerable time the election officials ap-

¹¹² Jan. 10, 1893.

¹¹³ Jan. 11, 1893.

¹¹⁴ Parkhurst, 240.

¹¹⁵ Feb. 3, 1894.

¹¹⁶ Parkhurst, 245-247.

pointed to represent the interests of the Republican minority here have been, as the Republican leaders aver, either lukewarm or treacherous; and wherever an investigation has been made, evidences of untrustworthiness have appeared. . . . The hope of the Lexow Committee, and of those directing its movements, is that sufficient evidence may be adduced to discredit the loyalty of the Republican organization in New York city, and thereby to push forward the so-called bi-partisan bill, which proposed to restore to the Police Board the even division of commissioners which existed prior to 1889. . . .

The second and remote object of the Lexow investigating committee is to give Tom Platt's opponents in the Union League Club, the City Club, the Parkhurst Society, the Chamber of Commerce, and elsewhere, an opportunity to justify the reckless and wholesale charges which, without specifications or details, they have made against the Police Department and against its administration by the present Commissioners. That is quite another matter, but if the accusing parties will step forward to the Captain's office and formulate their charges, we violate no confidence in saying that the Lexow committee will listen to them and give them such heed as they deserve."¹¹⁷

The *Sun* scarcely mentioned the shocking disclosures made by the Committee. But on September 7th, the organization of the Committee of Seventy to overthrow Tammany was featured on its front page. It was referred to as a "Gathering of the Discontented." Several letters read at this "noisy meeting" were published in full, including Ex-Mayor Hewitt's addressed to Gustav H. Schwab in which he declared "the only issue in the coming election is whether the city shall continue to be governed by Tammany Hall." He saw no opportunity for reform if it were.

On September 29, a leading editorial calling for "A Straight Fight" between the two major parties advised the Republicans against fusing with the Committee of Seventy and other anti-Tammany forces on the ground that "the nomination of some Mugwump or guerilla Democrat or non-descript political misfit" for Mayor, will leave a clear field "for the success of the regular Democratic municipal ticket." The rumored candidacy of Ex-Mayor Grace elicited an enthusiastic leading editorial:

Let Tammany Hall nominate William Rowderow Grace for Mayor, and a great piece of political wisdom will be manifested.

No Republican can beat him, and the success of the State ticket will be mightily promoted thereby.

Go in, Tammany, and win!¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Mar. 11, 1894.

¹¹⁸ Oct. 8, 1894.

Tammany was "not over-anxious for the Grace alliance." Mayor Gilroy asserted that the organization was more interested in the State election.¹¹⁹ The day this announcement was made the *Sun* jeered at the Republicans for trying to promote the candidacy of Strong on the grounds of his philanthropy. Voters will not be influenced, it declared, by such "collateral considerations," for the "office of the Mayor of New York is not an eleemosynary post." But Grace decided to endorse Strong and forced "his rebellious faction" to accept the entire ticket of the Committee of Seventy. "The action of the Grace Democracy," the *Sun* declared, "leaves Tammany Hall no other course than to name a straight ticket."¹²⁰

Tammany named two equally respected men to oppose the fusion candidate: Nathan Straus for Mayor and Frederick Smyth for Recorder. Dana immediately announced that he would not support Straus, for "he has already as a city officer proved himself unfit for public office." In the same editorial Strong was again attacked for "his ostentatious charities."¹²¹

At no time did Dana discuss the true issues of the election. A typical *Sun* editorial during the campaign was:

For Mayor of New York

Hugh Jackson Grant

Platform: He knows the Ropes!¹²²

But ten days before the election *Sun* readers were told in a two and a half column editorial that the only issue of the campaign centered in the controversy over the building of subway lines. All citizens were implored to vote against Strong.

A short editorial greeted the overthrow of Tammany by the election of Strong on the reform ticket.

If he is only a lucky bubble of an overwhelming popular wave he will soon show the truth in office and collapse. If he is really a man of original understanding and force, and able of his own resources to direct the city's affairs . . . no one will win greater glory from office holding than he, and every one will wish him well.

But has he got sense? That is the great question.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Oct. 9, 1894.

¹²⁰ Oct. 10, 1894.

¹²¹ Oct. 12, 1894.

¹²² Oct. 20, 1894.

¹²³ Nov. 7, 1894.

On the same page there followed a vigorous attack upon the processes of the Lexow investigation. The testimony as to extortion and blackmail, the *Sun* reasonably declared, "has come chiefly from men and women of a character which awakens reasonable doubts of their stories. Moreover, it was brought out without the restraints of the rules of evidence established in legal proceedings, and without the criticisms of cross-examination and objections of opposing counsel."

And then the *Sun* succinctly expressed its philosophy in regard to Tammany corruption:

We have just closed a campaign in which many of the clergy and great numbers of good people, men and women, have been engaged because of the horror excited in them by the exposure of the practical working of this under-spread system. Now that the particular campaign is over, why should these moral reformers proceed with their movement? They have not reached the seat of the disease but have only dealt with some of the symptoms. The seat is not in Tammany Hall but in the low moral tone of the society where many conspicuous church members, and men looked up to as exemplars of truth and righteousness, have not hesitated to pay bribes, and to make themselves confederates of the police in spreading such corruption and social demoralization.

On the other hand, Dana was fully aware of the evils of Tammany. Had he not referred to Boss Tweed as "a great man; rich, generous, without prejudice, spending freely the piles of money he extracts from the public treasury"? But with a circulation in the beginning of only fifty to sixty thousand copies a day, largely among the mechanics and small merchants,¹²⁴ Dana did not care to lose that preponderant element of the *Sun's* readers who were Tammany adherents. Furthermore, he frankly considered the open perfidy of Tammany less harmful than the secret connivance of the Republicans in New York and their corruption at Washington. In the *Sun's* tireless warfare against the greater evil Dana depended upon the ill-gotten success of the Democracy in New York. And so to purify the land at its fountain-head he was willing to tolerate the well of corruption at home. As usual such compromise has a price. Had Dana come out boldly against the rascality of Tammany it is not improbable that his battle cry of "Turn the Rascals Out" directed against the Republicans in national campaigns might have accomplished his purpose—at least it would have sounded more convincing. But if too shrewd a newspaper man to risk the popularity of the *Sun* by alienat-

¹²⁴ Wilson, James H., *Life of Dana*, 378.

ing its allies Dana was also too honest to pretend he was blind. Thus he used for his weapon a good-natured satire which very likely opened the eyes of some who would not have read his paper had it come out vigorously against Tammany. While this strategy failed to attain its larger moral and political objective it made the *Sun* successful commercially.

When Dana became established financially he no longer hesitated to attack Tammany openly. But he was usually guided by expediency. Thus he stroked the Tiger for a purpose. In Dana's hands, Tammany was an instrument to assist in the election of Tilden, promote Hill, or to disparage Cleveland. Even in the famous municipal election of 1878 there was little said in the *Sun* to offend the sensibilities of its Tammany readers. The unrivaled skill and energy of the paper was directed to punish the avowed foe of the Tilden Democrats, John Kelly, not to expose the rottenness of his organization. Knowing this, the *Sun's* brilliant "No King No Clown" campaign is the conspicuous exception to Dana's long-time policy of holding his fire against the Sachems of Tammany Hall.

CHAPTER VII

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

THERE were many crudities and defects in the American political system of Dana's day. But the reformatory impulse had always been strong, and in 1868 men were bending their efforts to correct abuses. Thomas Allen Jenckes was the first in America to attack the spoils system with practical vigor.¹ He was a Representative from Rhode Island who had advocated civil service reform since his appearance in Congress in 1863. In May, 1868, Jenckes championed a bill which would have introduced the best features of the civil service laws of China, Prussia, France and England. Praising his recommendations, the *Sun* took its first stand on the momentous question.² Endorsing competitive examinations and promotions by merit, it said:

It was not the purpose of the founders of the republic that every change in the party holding power should be followed by the instant dismissal of every man in the civil service of the Government, nor was their practise of that sort. There is no good reason why, when the Republicans or the Democrats carry an election they should turn out every experienced and skillful clerk of the opposite party, and supply his place with an incompetent or untrained man of their own party. If Mr. Jenckes can succeed in setting bounds to the range of party in this direction he will render a service to his country which ought to win for him a perpetual harvest of admiration and gratitude.³

And again:

As soon as honest, respectable men, not politicians can be assured that if they will prepare themselves for public service they are likely to get appointments, and once appointed to keep their places as long as they faithfully and honestly do their work, that of itself will elevate the character of applicants for the situations, and give us the pick of the best instead of the worst material. . . . It is to be hoped Mr. Jenckes' bill becomes a law.⁴

¹ Fish, Carl Russell, *The Civil Service and Patronage*, 211.

² May 15; June 11; Oct. 15, 1868; Jan. 5, 1869.

³ Oct. 15, 1868.

⁴ Jan. 5, 1869.

While Grant was President-elect, and during the early part of his Administration, civil service reformers believed that he was their sincere and earnest friend.⁵ George William Curtis rejoiced, "At last, thank God, we have got a President whom trading politicians did not elect, and who is no more afraid of them than he was of rebels."⁶ But before Curtis had spoken these words, Dana was completely disillusioned about Grant, and his staff were searching their extensive vocabularies to find words with which to describe his failure. With Dana's change toward Grant, he shifted his position on civil service reform. There was no written avowal that he considered his support of the Jenckes Bill mistaken, but he began to find proposals for improving the civil service impractical, especially when they were inspired by Grant. For instance:

Senator Wilson proposes to prohibit by severe penalties the levying of assessments for political purposes upon the employees of the Government. This is a wise measure, worthy of the high character and profound moral perception of the distinguished Senator. If it were possible to carry out such a reform in every department of public affairs, the country would gain immensely by it; but so long as such assessments are levied in every state and in every locality by the managers of politics, will not the party which prohibits them be left at a comparative disadvantage?⁷

And, two days later:

Gen. Grant's anxiety for the reform of the civil service is curiously illustrated in the appointments which he has made. . . . He declares emphatically that he wishes the proposed reform to apply not only to the clerks of the Departments, but to the persons appointed to office with the consent of the Senate. By whom are the persons appointed if not by the President?⁸

Through the efforts of Jenckes and Senator Trumbull a provision was written into an Appropriation Act authorizing the President "to prescribe such rules and regulations for the admission of persons into the civil service as will best promote the efficiency thereof," and to appoint a commission to draw up rules for ascertaining the fitness of each candidate.⁹ Grant appointed an advisory board, headed by George William Curtis. The board recommended rules to bring political assessments to

⁵ Fish, 212.

⁶ Curtis, George William, *Orations and Addresses*, II, 12.

⁷ Dec. 10, 1870.

⁸ Dec. 12, 1870.

⁹ Rhodes, J. F., *A History of the United States*, VI, 387.

an end and put the service on the basis of competitive examinations. Its report was presented December 18, 1871, and next day the President announced to Congress that the rules of the commission would go into effect the following January. Calling this a "crude and bastard" scheme, the *Sun* attempted to show how civil service reform could be approached from the "right end":

It is not a competitive examination that is needed to protect the appointing power. The question of fitness and unfitness is easily solved by the ordinary machinery of official life. It is not ignorance as to who is fit and unfit, that gives us incompetent officials; it is the want of disposition to appoint those who are best fitted, and to retain them when found, that occasions the mischief our civil service suffers.¹⁰

When the *Sun* said, "The true reform of the civil service must consist first of all in reforming the President,"¹¹ it revealed an important factor in Dana's opposition. Grant actually had no faith in the system he was pretending to support. The distribution of spoils continued under him with little abatement, so that Curtis shortly became thoroughly disappointed and withdrew. *Sun* editorials became increasingly cynical.

In 1872 Horace Greeley stood on the first national platform which contained a plank for civil service reform. Four years later the Democratic platform called for reform, but Tilden did not take a positive stand on the issue. Supporting him, the *Sun* urged the necessity of a change in personnel, saying it would be President Tilden's first duty to appoint new heads for all the departments. The only reform practicable was to "turn them out and put fit men in their places."

In 1869 the *Sun* had praised Carl Schurz's activities as Minister to Spain and his service in the Civil War, and with apparent sincerity added, "we shall watch his career with interest, sympathy, and confidence."¹² Seven years later, when Schurz supported Hayes, the *Sun* showed a distinct change in attitude. No longer was Schurz depicted a splendid character in political life; but as a misguided fool. As Secretary of the Interior, he promulgated sound rules for the department and put them into execution.¹³ The *Sun* spoke only of his failure to effect reform and his hypocrisy as a reformer. After describing the pollution

¹⁰ Jan. 20, 1872.

¹¹ Feb. 7, 1872.

¹² July 15, 1869.

¹³ Oberholtzer, E. P., *A History of the United States*, III, 339.

of the Interior Department that existed previous to Schurz's appointment, it wrote:

What has Mr. Schurz done to illustrate his fine theories, and to put in practice the reforms which he has professed so vehemently?

He has begun by retaining in office the whole crew of collusionists and jobbers . . . he has invented or more properly adopted from the European bureaucracy, a set of rules by which these men are to perpetuate themselves in power and to exclude all chance of appointment for merit from outside.¹⁴

Unrestrained wrath for the "crime of 1876" seemed to govern Dana's treatment of Hayes and his Administration. The *Sun* scornfully referred to Hayes' interest in civil service reform as "hypocritical pretensions" and liked to dig up instances of political opportunism in his appointments. For instance, it charged that the President's attempt to replace the Customs officials in New York City with more dependable men was a purely political maneuver. It declared that the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., as collector, in place of Chester A. Arthur, was intended to serve as a "slap square in the face of Roscoe Conkling,"¹⁵ and that the Senate would do no wrong if it rejected the whole list.¹⁶ The President's persistency in reappointing Edwin A. Merritt and Silas W. Burt to the Customhouse, after the Senate rejected their names, was explained as pure factional warfare. "The suspension of Arthur and Cornell," said the *Sun*, "is a blow aimed directly at Mr. Conkling by Hayes, Sherman and Evarts. They are bent on his defeat and, therefore, at this critical point in the Senatorial canvass they throw the apple of discord into the campaign."¹⁷

In an editorial entitled "Nobody Pleased," the *Sun* cited both Conkling and Curtis as disapproving the Hayes policy:

Mr. Conkling's views of Mr. Hayes' Administration are too well known to require any new exposition at the present time. Mr. Curtis does not seem to fall a bit behind his rival in the thoroughness of his contempt for the powers that be at Washington. In *Harper's Weekly*, which is known to express on all occasions his political sentiments, Mr. Curtis arraigns the Administration on the grave charges of inconsistency and an utter want of principle. After setting forth clearly the two opposing views which prevail in the Republican party on the subject of the civil service, Mr. Curtis proceeds to criticise with great severity

¹⁴ Apr. 25, 1877.

¹⁵ Oct. 16, 1877.

¹⁶ Oct. 14, 1877.

¹⁷ July 12, 1878.

the contradiction involved in the nomination recently made for officers of Customs in this city. He says: "To select a Collector in accordance with the first view, and a Surveyor and a Naval officer in accordance with the second, is to satisfy nobody, *because it is an action which shows no consistent principle.*" Thus according to the testimony of the leaders of the two divisions comprising the great Republican party of this State, we have at present an unprincipled Administration at Washington.¹⁸

President Garfield was elected on a platform which called for civil service reform, "thorough, radical, and complete." But the *Sun* was not convinced. In an editorial entitled "Hypocritical and Ridiculous in Both Parties," it pointed out that the fondness of a party for this reform increased in proportion to its distance from an opportunity to put it into practice:

Garfield was elected, and not one man throughout the United States with a solitary exception, was found to adhere to the doctrine which the whole Whig party had been preaching. On the contrary, the very men who had been most conspicuous in advocating this doctrine were earliest most imperious, and most persistent in their demands for appointment. In fact, in the short space of a single month these cormorants for office had literally worried the life out of the poor old gentleman they had elected. He found no peace from these civil service reformers except in the grave.

Hayes was nothing if not a civil service reformer. Under him public officers were not to be allowed to interfere in elections. Yet what did we see recently under this pious civil service reformer, who professed so much? What but all the Departments of Government almost stopped while the clerks went home to Ohio to carry the State for the Republicans!

We say therefore, that the pretensions of both parties as civil service reformers seem to us equally hypocritical and ridiculous.¹⁹

The tragic death of Garfield in 1881 at the hands of a disappointed office-seeker aroused public opinion in favor of civil service reform. This was reflected in New York State, where Erastus Brooks proposed a civil service reform bill for adoption by the legislature. Its main features were a civil service commission of three to administer the law, the holding of competitive examinations and rules forbidding partisan activity among office holders. Dana greeted it with scorn and entitled an editorial on the subject, "Putting on the Cast Off Clothing of the Republican Party":

¹⁸ Nov. 13, 1877.

¹⁹ Nov. 26, 1880.

In one sense every intelligent and patriotic citizen is in favor of civil service reform; that is, in favor of constantly and always improving the civil service and making it as nearly perfect as possible. How can anyone be opposed to that? It is impossible.

But civil service reform as now used in politics has acquired a specific meaning, and has become a technical phrase. It means making the tenure of subordinates in the executive department of the Government, long, fixed, and secure. It means life tenure in office, though this is cloaked by the term "during good behavior. . . ."

Mr. Hayes professed this kind of civil service reform, as many other Republicans have done; but no Republican leader seems to have seriously thought of carrying it into practice; while Mr. Conkling and other bold Republicans openly repudiate it.

Does Mr. Brooks seriously propose to clothe the strong, robust, confident Democracy in the condemned and cast-off duds of the Republicans? ²⁰

But when the bill was actually passed, the *Sun* was moved to a sympathetic partisan pride: "A Democratic legislature in the Democratic State of New York seems to have tried a bolder experiment in civil service reform than the Republicans have yet attempted in any state." ²¹

National reformers met the challenge with equal haste. Curtis, Eaton, Hayes, and others issued a circular in which they attributed Garfield's assassination to "abuses and dangers of patronage in the civil service." They called for public meetings on the subject. Dana's dislike of these men contributed to the asperity with which he denounced the "logic of cranks":

The miserable politicians who invented the phrases "Garfield Republican" and "Guiteau Republican" were not quicker to make capital out of the assassination than the civil service reform theorists.

Under the American system of rotation in office the public service is open to ten million citizens. The so-called reformers would close it to all except a class of about one hundred thousand perpetual and professional officeholders. To their ears the hinges of the universe will continue to creak until this thing is done. Until it is done, nothing evil can befall us which will not be explained by the "abuses and dangers of patronage in the civil service."

Guiteau was a disappointed office seeker and he shot Garfield; therefore, he shot Garfield because he was a disappointed office seeker. That is the logic of this interesting band of civil service reformers, now increased in number by the accession of the infamous R. B. Hayes. Guiteau was a disappointed communist and he shot Garfield; he shot Garfield because he had belonged to the Oneida concern. Guiteau was a disappointed brother of Plymouth Church and

²⁰ Jan. 9, 1881.

²¹ July 28, 1883.

he shot Garfield; he shot him because he had sat under Henry Ward Beecher's preaching. . . .

If Guiteau's office seeking has any bearing on the crime, it is to make it more extraordinary, not to account for it. When the assassin conceived the deed, he was still hoping for office. From the office seeker's point of view he did the craziest thing imaginable when he made up his mind to murder the man on whom his hopes depended. He shot the President, not because he was an office seeker, but in spite of that fact.²²

In 1882 an effort was being made to push through Congress the Pendleton Bill, providing for a civil service commission, competitive examinations and prohibiting political assessments upon officeholders. State elections registered approval of such a reform, while President Arthur gave it his support.

A series of *Sun* editorials on the Pendleton Bill are illuminating. "Abuses in the Civil Service," appearing December 14th, was based upon a speech by Senator Pendleton. The first sentence clearly expressed Dana's fear that the measure would assist the Republicans to retain their office. "Of the extent to which the money wrung from the taxpayers has been illegally and scandalously squandered in the executive departments, no adequate conception can be formed until the party which has been in power for more than twenty years is compelled to let go its grip upon the Federal Administration." Nevertheless, the *Sun* was much more favorably disposed toward Pendleton than it had ever been toward reformers, and its comments were far from bitter:

The noteworthy feature of this speech was the stress laid on an argument of which little use has heretofore been made. A change in our administrative system has been urged mainly on the ground that, unless the tenure of office is made permanent, it will always prove impracticable to prevent the assessment of officeholders for political purposes. If civil service reformers have, to some extent, succeeded in gaining the popular ear, it is because the people are unwilling that the whole body of Federal functionaries, whose salaries are paid by the whole people irrespective of parties, shall be treated as a political machine to be manipulated exclusively in the interest of the party in power. . . .

This is the chief argument of the civil service reformers but Senator Pendleton had another argument, namely, that "in his judgment, one of the chief recommendations of the proposed reform in the civil service was the saving of the public money which it would inevitably entail." He proceeds to illustrate by examples how, under the present system, there is a constant pressure from politicians upon the departments to make appointments, and a corresponding pres-

²² Oct. 17, 1881.

sure by the heads of departments upon their subordinates to devise pretexts for taking on new men. . . .

On December 16th, an editorial was devoted to exposing the "Republican politicians" and their "sudden enthusiasm for permanent tenure of office." How partisan the reform seemed to Dana is evident in this statement:

What Republican politicians understand by a reform of the civil service is a system which would give the whole body of existing officeholders, every one of whom belongs to their own party, an indefeasible title to go on drawing salaries from the public purse, while as to such vacancies in the lowest grade of offices as may from time to time occur, Republicans have an equal opportunity of filling them. That their object is to deprive the Democratic party, which constitutes a majority of the people, of any connection with the Federal civil service outside of the right to compete for vacant posts of a low grade is conclusively attested by the Kasson bill, which strips the President of the power of removal, merely authorizing him to prefer charges and bring to trial an incompetent or offensive officeholder. This provision is due, of course, to the apprehension, roused by the November elections, that the next President may be chosen by the Democratic party; and the aim is to paralyze the executive authority by making the multitude of agents through whom it must be exercised entirely independent of their ostensible head. In brief, what Republicans of the Kasson type mean by reform is that they are in, and meant to stay in.

The same monstrous assertion was made by Mr. Hoar, when he defiantly announced on Thursday in the Senate that "the civil service is made up now, and always will be, of adherents of one political party," and that the Democratic party is now called upon to "certify its patriotism and its fitness to take charge of the Government" by pledging itself beforehand not to disturb Republican officeholders. So much at least may be said for this extraordinary affirmation, that it helps us to comprehend why the Pendleton bill commends itself to the Senator from Massachusetts.

One amendment proposed to the bill by Senator Pugh was to strike out the provision that entrance to the civil service should be limited to the lowest grade, and to let offices of every class be thrown open to competition on the part of all citizens. This amendment was considered sound and necessary by the *Sun*, but its approval was as partisan as were its criticisms of the Pendleton Bill:

What Democrats want is a fair start. They do not accept the axiom which Mr. Hoar had the incredible assurance to lay down, that the civil service, now and always, must be made up of adherents of one political party. Neither are they satisfied with Mr. Pendleton's proposition, which would give the mem-

bers of a party now forming a large majority of the American people an equal right to compete only for the lowest grade of posts, while the minority party would remain impreguably established in the official strongholds. And if they assent to the proposal that nobody should be disturbed for political reasons, have they not a right to demand that as the first step to an equitable reform, every existing officeholder shall prove his right to draw a salary by beating all competitors in an examination to which every citizen of the United States shall be admissible? That is what we understood Senator Brown to aim at by his amendment, and we shall watch with curiosity its reception at the hands of the Republican politicians who of late have affected so much zeal for reform.²³

The Senate vote on the Pugh amendment disclosed a rampant partisanship. All the Republicans opposed it and all the Democrats with one exception supported it. This aroused the cynicism of the *Sun*, which regarded it as final proof of "the real motives of many sham converts to reform":

Republican as well as Democratic Senators knew that the proposed change in the Pendleton project meant a genuine and trenchant, instead of mock reform. They knew that it would meet the strongest objections to the present system by so far reducing the number of employees in all departments as to get rid of supernumeraries, and by compelling every functionary to submit to a test of his qualifications in competition not only with his fellow officeholders, but with outside candidates. It is true that if these provisions were included in the new scheme a good many superfluous Republicans would at once lose their salaries, and that now and then a Republican in the middle and higher grades as well as the lower category of the service might have to give way to a Democrat who proved himself a fitter man. But that is just what the reformers want, if there is anything but gammon in their talk about the waste of public money in unnecessary salaries, and their demand that offices shall be allotted according to desert without reference to political opinions. Accordingly the Republican Senators, taking, no doubt, their cue from such astute and zealous reformers as Mr. Hoar, had not a word to say about the purpose or the merits of the Pugh amendment, but when the time came to deal with it in earnest they quietly and unanimously voted it down.²⁴

From this time the *Sun* had no use for the bill, and an editorial which appeared four days later was entitled "The Pendleton Sham."

During this debate, two questions had become intensely interesting to both Republicans and Democrats: had Thomas Jefferson initiated the spoils system, and did Andrew Jackson say "To the Victors belong the

²³ Dec. 16, 1882.

²⁴ Dec. 25, 1882.

Spoils"? The *Sun* claimed that Alexander Hamilton had inaugurated the spoils system:

Jefferson found it in full operation in the Treasury Department when he entered the Cabinet of Washington, and it reached its full development in all the departments under John Adams. It consisted of a multiplication of offices and the creation of useless patronage, dispensed to personal favorites and political partisans. This is the spoils system truly defined of which Mr. Hamilton was the author.

Mr. Jefferson reversed the Federalist principle upon which Hamilton and Adams proceeded, and the first Democratic Administration was the first and greatest reform Administration. It abolished two-thirds of the civil list. It cut off every needless office. It reduced expenditure and diminished taxes. . . .

This was and is true civil service reform. We have tried the Federalist plan a long while, under Grant and Hayes and Garfield, and nobody seems pleased with the result. Why not make a change, and try the Jefferson plan, as our fathers did in 1800? ²⁵

Nor did the *Sun* believe that, "To the Victors belong the Spoils" expressed "an opinion ever held" by Jackson. "It is an adaption from a speech of Mr. Marcy on the nomination of Mr. Van Buren to be Minister of England; inoffensive enough with the context, but caught up by partisan malice at the time, and made to do duty ever since as a charge against the Jackson Administration."

Dana's ardent belief in the two-party system may have contributed to his coldness to civil service reform. A quotation from an editorial written in 1882 is sufficient to show how sincerely the *Sun* upheld party activity:

We think it follows from the very nature of our Constitution that so long as the relations between the Federal Government and the constituent States are defined by that instrument, it is, and always will be, our supreme interest to have two parties representing two great counter tendencies, to wit, the segregative and the cohesive, and the two great principles of centralization and of local self government, which it is the capital object of our organic law to maintain in equilibrium. . . .²⁶

Under the provisions of the Pendleton Bill, as it was passed, the President could extend the rules or provide exemption from them. Arthur was willing to give it a fair trial and appointed Eaton chairman of the Commission. The *Sun* was vastly amused at this. Mr. Eaton had

²⁵ July 30, 1881.

²⁶ Mar. 1, 1882.

drafted the bill, now he was to be "given an office." This justified the belief of an opponent, who called it a "bill to create an office for Mr. Dorman B. Eaton." "If this appointment is made and Mr. Dorman B. Eaton accepts the office and enters upon its duties without further preliminaries, it appears to us," the *Sun* said, "that what is called the cause of Civil Service Reform will receive a tremendous blow—a shock from the effects of which the cause may not recover for years and years."²⁷

Mr. Eaton is well known as an advocate of civil service reform, so called at all times and in all places. He is a man with whom the President can have no personal sympathy. We doubt whether he will get along pleasantly with his associates. Verbosity and dogmatism are not likely to conciliate others who may not possess his knowledge of the subject in hand.

We observe that Mr. Eaton has already manifested an unfriendly spirit toward the other members of the Commission. He told a *Times* reporter that he knew nothing about Mr. Thoman and was not sure that he knew anything about Mr. Gregory. "I did think," he added, "that a man who has not been named would be appointed." He also remarked that if the gentlemen chosen were lacking in experience the Commission would have great trouble in getting to work.

As to Messrs. Gregory and Thoman, it is nothing against them that they are not yet so well known as Wiggins, the weather prophet. If they happen to disagree with Dorman B. Eaton they may soon acquire distinction enough.

The Civil Service Commission is not likely to be a tribunal of conciliation.²⁸

Although in 1883 Arthur pronounced the law successful,²⁹ the *Sun* devoted many editorials to proving it a gross failure. Accusing Eaton of confusing his own functions with those of Congress, it called the civil service rules "rubbish."³⁰ Its chief ground for criticism was the retention in office of the creatures who had fed at the public crib during Grantism. Its remedy was the complete overthrow of the Republican party and all its "hangers-on":

Mr. Eaton, Mr. Pendleton, Mr. Raum, and the machine politicians who have put on the cloak of reform, want this venal crew kept in office, on the ground that they have had experience and are familiar with the conduct of public affairs. On the other hand, we want them turned out neck and heels as the first indispensable step toward the purification of the public service.

²⁷ Feb. 19, 1883.

²⁸ Feb. 22, 1883.

²⁹ Fish, 222.

³⁰ May 5, 1883.

There can be no substantial improvement until the Republican machine which has run the Government for twenty-two years, in war and in peace, shall be overthrown and cast out. To that supreme object every effort of patriotism ought to be directed. All other issues are of no importance beside it. Candidates count for nothing compared with this one great need of the country. The man most sure to win the victory would be taken without regard to locality, provided only that he will make a fitting leader for a great political and moral revolution.³¹

The Republican nomination of Blaine for President in 1884 spurred the Independents into a concerted protest against political evils. Upon these men the *Sun* fastened the name Mugwumps. Their leaders included some of the most progressive and cultured men in America and yet they appear in the *Sun* clothed with ridicule: Schurz, the "utter failure" and "well dressed humbug"; "Larry" Godkin, the "stern moralist," "congenital liar" and "plagiarist"; George Jones, the "snobbish" and "blackmailing" British editor of the *Times*; Beecher, the "licentious greyheaded old seducer"; Bristow, as "fit for a public career as a good preacher for an engineering job"; and Curtis, the one "forlorn hope" of civil service reform—these and many more had supported Cleveland during his term as Governor of New York State and wished him made President and leader of their moral crusade. They were characterized as follows:

The *Philadelphia Bulletin* considers the fastidious Dude who wouldn't go to a theater where the seats were cheap as the typical contemporary American snob.

But a more objectionable variety of snob than this asinine Philadelphian dude is the political snob. He is a creature generated by Mugwumpism, and as the *Evening Post*, his dry nurse, describes him, "is essentially a solitary animal," with a morbid dread of being regarded as anything else except highly respectable. Above all things he avoids association with "the boys" and flies instinctively from any political candidate who makes himself so popular that he is called by a nickname, as so many of the greatest of the world's leaders have been called. He would as soon think of parting his hair elsewhere than in the middle as of voting for the "Bobs," "Mikes," and "Pats" of politics; and it is enough for him that some people speak of the Democratic candidate for Governor as "Dave" Hill. Vote for a Dave? Impossible!

He is very anxious to cast a "clean ballot" all by himself, and wants it generally understood that he has none of the enthusiastic devotion to party manifested by the ungenteel public. He speaks of filthy places fit only for the vulgar, and for Tammany Hall especially he has unutterable loathing. The thought that the "common people" are in the majority and have as much right to vote as he has almost driven him into exile. He would have the polls fumigated and

³¹ June 14, 1883.

perfumed before he entered to deposit his dainty ballot containing the names of candidates "with whom a gentleman could associate, you know." At any rate, as the *Evening Post*, his spokesman, explains, there is "the only place" where he cares to meet politicians or have anything to do with them; for the political snob looks on a politician as a low character in whose company he must not be seen by his fellow snobs.

Is not this variety of snob, then, more contemptible than the *Bulletin's* idiot? ³²

The Mugwumps were "icebergs" with "frost-bitten" followers. They were "snobs" and "Pharisees" with a "holier-than-thou" attitude. They were called "windbags" or any other name that served to ridicule them. The *Sun* urged its readers to forego both Cleveland and Blaine and put Benjamin Butler in the White House:

In these days of sentimentality and humbug it is delightful to find a fellow cool-headed enough and manly enough to declare the old fashioned doctrine. This is what Gen. Butler did in his Chicago speech. "I want change of offices," said Gen. Butler, "in order to counteract the great tendency of these times to cast in aristocratic life offices."

This touches the very heart of the question. The proposition that men shall be appointed to office as the result of examinations in book learning, and that they shall remain in office during life, is a proposition that ought to be speedily broken down and turned out. We don't want an aristocracy of office holders in this country. ³³

After helping effect Cleveland's election, the Mugwumps were apprehensive lest he fail to carry on the cause of civil service reform and were eager to hear some word of promise from the new President. He reassured them with a Christmas day letter, saying he believed in the Pendleton Act and would observe it in "good faith and without evasion." ³⁴ The letter was on the copy desk of the *Sun* office, ready to go to press. A breeze caught and carried it to some unknown spot. Because of Dana's attitude toward Cleveland, it was thought he had suppressed the letter. He explained his predicament to Willard Bartlett. "Oh, say that the office cat ate it up," Bartlett replied. ³⁵ Dana dictated the following editorial:

We are frequently obliged to deplore the circumstance that the *Sun* is not invariably conducted in a manner to please those of our esteemed contempo-

³² Oct 18, 1885.

³³ July 24, 1884.

³⁴ Nevins, Allan, *Cleveland*, 200-201.

³⁵ O'Brien, Frank M., *The Story of the Sun*, 287.

raries that do not happen to agree with us in opinion; but, sad as it is, we cannot always help it.

Here are the *Evening Post* and the *New York Times*, both seasonably exercised because the *Sun* happened to publish Mr. Cleveland's letter on the civil service question on Wednesday, and not on Tuesday. The more profound of the two journals accounts for the fact on the hypothesis that we are afraid, and were "let into the astonishing journalistic blunder of trying to suppress it."

This is a new conception worthy of its origin. The *Sun* is not usually suspected of being afraid of Mr. Cleveland's publications; and we solemnly declare that, so far as we can remember, we never tried to suppress a public document that came from a President.

Since the *Evening Post* and the *Times* take interest in the conduct of the *Sun*, we beg to assure them that it was only through an accident that Mr. Cleveland's letter was not published by us on Tuesday. The assistant editor, who had charge of it, lost the copy from his desk, either by some person taking it or by the wind blowing it away, or the office cat eating it up; and that is all there is of it.

In the name of the Prophet, Fudge! ³⁶

The possibility that an "office-cat" had eaten the President's letter on civil service caused much amusement. It was a lucky witticism that caught and held the public interest. Newspapers all over the country wrote of the cat. The *Graphic* portrayed him with one eye bandaged and so "infuriated the cat" that he straightway "dilacerated" the picture. His habits were detailed:

He takes a keen delight in hunting for essays on civil service reform, and will play with them, if he has time, for hours. They are so pretty that he hates to kill them, but duty is duty. Clumsy and awkward English he springs at with indescribable quickness and ferocity but he won't eat it. He simply tears it up. He can't stand everything. . . .

Many of our esteemed contemporaries are furnishing their offices with cats, but they can never hope to have the equal of the *Sun's* venerable polyphage. He is a cat of genius. ³⁷

One of the first tests of Cleveland's sincerity toward civil service reform was the case of Henry G. Pearson, Republican postmaster of New York City. His term expired March 21, 1885, but he had proved his efficiency. Would Cleveland reappoint him? Said the *Sun*:

If Mr. Cleveland determines to reappoint Mr. Pearson doubtless it will be pleasing to the Independent Republicans; but it may fail to please a good many Democrats, who at the same time do not disparage Mr. Pearson's qualifications. . . .

³⁶ Jan. 1, 1885.

³⁷ Jan. 12, 1885.

The sensible view of the case is that Mr. Pearson has had the office for the regular period. He was appointed for a certain term, and his term will soon be out. Here comes in the great Democratic principle of rotation. Let him step aside and let some other good man, who is also a Democrat, be put in his place. . . . He was not created to enjoy a monopoly of the New York Post Office forever.³⁸

But the reformers won the issue, for Pearson was reappointed. The *Sun* commented: "Pearson is appointed because the Mugwumps demanded it, and the Mugwumps carried the election. To the Victors belong the Spoils!"³⁹

In the fall of 1885, Eaton resigned as Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, and soon afterward Cleveland asked for the resignations of Commissioners Gregory and Thoman. The *Sun* treated these men with characteristic ridicule:

A Washington correspondent of our esteemed neighbor, the *Tribune*, avers that the Hon. Dorman B. Eaton, Chief Crank of the Crank Civil Service Commission, has for some time been pining to resign, and, indeed, has actually resigned. Feeling, however, that the common weal would be attacked with blind staggers if he failed to look after it until the constitutionality of the Civil Service law has been settled or unsettled he has kindly consented to remain for yet a few days.

With the care of the suit to test the constitutionality of that law, the general supervision of the United States, and a lot of exhausted Mugwumps setting up signals of distress on the New York Custom House, the remaining official days of the Scourge of Syntax are likely to be full of trouble. It was injudicious in him not to insist that his resignation should resign.

"It is given out," says the *Tribune*, "that Mr. Eaton is in need of rest, and purposes to seek recreation abroad." And, of a verity, Mr. Eaton doesn't need rest from his labors half so much as the country needs a rest from Mr. Eaton.

Let him go abroad and delight his soul with those aristocratic and barnacled civil services which he loves, but the transplanted of which to this benighted democratic country does not and cannot thrive. We wish this gloomy but respectable demophobist nothing but well. Doubtless he has done "the best he knew how," but while the Crank Commission lasts it is desirable that it should have at its head some person who knows how better than Mr. Eaton seems to know.

It is believed in Washington that if the Commission are not heartily sustained, they will all resign. That would be the best thing they can ever do but Gregory and Thoman ought not to be allowed to resign. They are somewhat offensive, utterly incompetent, and scarcely up to par intellectually. They should not

³⁸ Mar. 14, 1885.

³⁹ Apr. 2, 1885.

be allowed to choose their own time for resignation. Their resignation ought to be exacted at once. They are ripe for removal.⁴⁰

At this time, David B. Hill, whose actions belied any pretensions to civil service reform, was politically active in New York State. The *Sun* supported Hill and in doing so came out openly for the Tammany machine. In September, 1885, it praised a resolution by Tammany which stated that "recent legislation had tended to diminish and restrict the authority of officers chosen by the people to appoint, promote, and remove their own subordinates":

The most ardent supporter of the existing Civil Service Act will not deny that such is its tendency. Instead of permitting the appointing power to choose from among all the persons in the country competent to perform the duties of a given office, it restricts the choice to four persons selected by some one else. No one outside of this group of four can be appointed. The diminution of authority which such a limitation involves has hardly been appreciated until now except by careful students of the legislation in question. It is opposed to the spirit of the Constitution, if not to the letter of that instrument, and is certainly unwise as a matter of public policy, even if it should turn out to be valid as a matter of law. . . .

The one of these Tammany resolutions is undoubtedly in harmony with the feeling of the great mass of voters in this State, whether they be Democrats or Republicans. The latter may deem it expedient to refrain from expressing their true opinion on the subject just now, but they are adverse to the Etonian system all the same. This is not at all because the average elector is indifferent to the efficiency of the civil service, as the Mugwumps are so fond of assuming, but because they recognize almost by instinct the anti-American character of the competitive examination scheme as a means of selecting the best men for office. They know that if that had been the only path into the public service Abraham Lincoln would never have been President of the United States, and Ulysses S. Grant would never have commanded the Union armies. If such a system would keep the best men out of great places, it is likely to keep the best men out of small ones.

The Etonian system must go! ⁴¹

In reviewing Cleveland's Administration Curtis said in 1887, "It would be a great wrong to the cause of which the League is the authorized national representative if it did not plainly and emphatically declare that it does not regard the Administration, however worthy of respect and confidence for many reasons, as in any strict sense of the words a civil service reform Administration. Yet under this Adminis-

⁴⁰ Sept. 22, 1885.

⁴¹ Sept. 14, 1885.

tration much has been gained for reform.”⁴² Less than a year later the *Sun* stated:

Civil service reform is just what it was three years ago, with the exception of a few alterations in the civil service rules. But it is demonstrated that the whole business has no important body of supporters. The principle that to the victors belong the spoils has, after a slight struggle, maintained itself under the present Administration. . . .⁴³

Referring to mistakes which Cleveland had “manfully and gloriously” corrected at its insistence, the *Sun* said: “The Chinese theory of civil service appointment had been definitely abandoned to innocuous desuetude, glory to Grover! The *Sun* has been right and Mr. Cleveland has been wrong but in time he put himself in the right. . . .”⁴⁴

In the campaign of 1888 the *Sun* supported Cleveland. Its sincerity was questioned by correspondents who wrote asking the reason for this about-face. One declared that in 1884 he had favored the election of Cleveland and voted for him, but at that time the *Sun* differed entirely from his opinion. Now, four years later, this correspondent was prepared to oppose his re-election at all hazards, and to his great surprise the *Sun* was praising Cleveland. The *Sun* explained, “He is much more of a Democrat than he was before he kicked the civil service humbug overboard; we are convinced that he is since then a much better President for the country than Mr. Blaine would make; so that we hold it is better to keep the Democrats in power with Mr. Cleveland at the wheel than to bring in the Republicans.”⁴⁵

The *Sun's* reasons for opposing Harrison in this campaign included one of great importance to reformers:

In a speech delivered nearly six years ago Benjamin Harrison expressed himself in these words: “I assure you I am an advocate of Civil Service Reform.” He should be beaten for this utterance if for nothing else.

The people of this country are able to govern themselves without any Chinese rules and examinations in their politics.⁴⁶

After Harrison's election the *Sun* entitled an editorial, “The Clean Sweep Coming.” Asserting that the Democrats would not whine when

⁴² Curtis, *Orations and Addresses*, II, 351.

⁴³ Mar. 2, 1888.

⁴⁴ Sept. 5, 1888.

⁴⁵ Jan. 30, 1888.

⁴⁶ July 6, 1888.

Harrison proceeded to turn them out and put Republicans in, it looked forward eagerly to 1892, when the situation would be reversed and there could not be the "slightest objection, moral, sentimental, or chivalric, to another clean sweep of a more satisfactory character." Indeed, the *Sun* was so enamored of this doctrine that it ended various editorials, "To the victors belong the spoils."⁴⁷

The *Sun* now considered the Mugwumps extinct. As a matter of fact they no longer had the strength which their united support of Cleveland had given them in 1884. The *Sun* reported that a strange bird, thought by a Yale naturalist to be a variety of Noddy, had been "bagged" in Connecticut. "It appears," it continued, "it is not a common Noddy, (Anoiis Stolidus) but the Mugwump or Fool Bird (Answer Mugwumpiensis). So rare have these birds become that they ought to be protected by the game laws as a curiosity."⁴⁸ Again rejoicing over the disappearance of the Mugwumps, the *Sun* reviewed the history of their famous name:

It is now time to recall and revive to honor a good word gone wrong. We reintroduce our old favorite and protégé, the mugwump, with a little m. For two hundred years it had slumbered in the pages of John Eliot's Indian Bible. We roused it to life, and civilization clasped rapturously to its bosom this child of the aborigines. In the United States, especially, a country rich in leaders, captains, big chiefs, and bosses, the word mugwump became as popular as it was convenient. The dwellers by the Mississippi called it the mugwump river. Boston called her then unconquered Sullivan "the fistic mugwump." We were justly proud of our restoration and rehabilitation of a fine old word, which all the world welcomed.

Then came a time when the word was degraded. Capitalized and specialized, it was used as the derisive nickname of a breed of political swelled heads. The innocent word mugwump lost its reputation on account of the insane caperings of the Mugwump with a big M.

But now the word Mugwump survives only in the catalogues of political curiosities and extinct species of freaks. The thing it named is dead, deader than the ramphorhyncus or the clod. Mugwump with the big M belongs to the dead languages.⁴⁹

With Cleveland out of the Presidency, the *Sun* looked forward to happier days for the political parties. Although Harrison had said in

⁴⁷ Nov. 16, 1888.

⁴⁸ June 7, 1889.

⁴⁹ Nov. 21, 1888.

his inaugural speech that public officers would be expected to enforce the civil service law "fully and without evasion" and that he himself hoped to do "something more to advance the reform of civil service," the *Sun* was more interested in another statement which it reported as coming from Harrison at this time: "Honorable party service will certainly not be esteemed by me as a disqualification for public office."⁵⁰ This means, the *Sun* explained, that the country will have a Republican and not a Mugwump Administration. "And it is better for Republicans and Democrats alike that it should not be a hybrid."⁵¹

The *Sun* soon came to the conclusion that President Harrison was "no more of a civil service reformer than Thomas C. Platt."⁵² He removed from office Pearson, the efficient postmaster whom Garfield had appointed and Cleveland reappointed. J. S. Clarkson of Iowa, First Assistant Postmaster General and an opponent of the reform, was accused of having boasted: "I have changed 31,000 out of 55,000 fourth class postmasters and I expect to change 10,000 more before I finally quit!"⁵³ In writing of the "high morality" of the Mugwumps the *Sun* pretended to denounce Clarkson for his activities: "Democrats and Republicans like the Hon. James S. Clarkson . . . are sinners who must be turned from the errors of their ways or be denounced. The conception that civil service reform is virtue and the spoils system vice explains the anxiety of the reformers to enlist the clergy on their side."⁵⁴ The *Sun* also denounced Harrison on the charge of nepotism, urging him to "abandon . . . the attempt to establish his family relatives and his close personal friends in important and lucrative office."⁵⁵

During 1889, charges were brought against Charles Lyman, by far the strongest of the three Civil Service Commissioners appointed by Cleveland. He was accused of having given a position to a relative without examination. In addition, it was said that this relative had made a copy of the examination papers, and sold the copy. The *Sun* regarded his published reply to these charges as "practically a confession that he is an unfit man to hold office":

⁵⁰ Mar. 5, 1889.

⁵¹ Mar. 18, 1891.

⁵² July 20, 1889.

⁵³ Rhodes, VIII, 331.

⁵⁴ Oct. 6, 1889.

⁵⁵ June 6, 1890.

The time has come when Congress must thoroughly investigate the practical operations of the so-called Civil Service Law as administered by the Civil Service Commission. If the hypocrisy of its workings has equalled the humbug of the open pretensions of its advocates and supporters the light ought to be let in.⁵⁶

Prior to this investigation, which found nothing to discredit the Commission,⁵⁷ Harrison had appointed Theodore Roosevelt as commissioner. According to the *Sun*, he had previously cared nothing about civil service reform, but he assumed his duties with characteristic energy, to Dana's disgust:

The professional civil service reformers have not been able to take much comfort in Gen. Harrison so far. They quote his fine words on civil service reform when he was a Senator, and bitterly reflect that fine words butter no parsnips now that he is President. In short, they chew the cud of discontent, and rage inwardly. But not every one. Theodore Roosevelt is an exception. To be sure he has not been a Chinese civil service reformer very long. Indeed, he was hardly heard of as such until his recent appointment as a member of the United States Civil Service Commission. Yet now he is as hearty as the Heartiest.

But like all doctrinal reformers, he expects a great deal from the people; and one of the things which he seems to expect is that the people will believe him when he asserts that President Harrison has been faithful to his pledges in regard to the Civil Service system. This is too much.

No, Theodore! You have been an earnest Republican. . . . But anyone who thinks that President Harrison's course in respect to appointments and removals has been guided by the star of an anti-political civil service is either wilfully or woefully ignorant.⁵⁸

In 1889 the demand for Government jobs far outran the supply and the civil service laws galled more than ever. The *Sun* took up the cry for its repeal and attempted to prove that it wouldn't work, it hadn't worked, and couldn't work. It considered two men who attempted to steal the examination papers in the Boston post office "victims" of the Civil Service Act. "How much of this stealing of examination papers is there?" the *Sun* asked. Claiming that there was a good deal of fraud, it continued: "On the whole 1889 seems to be a great year for broken China. Spoilsmen with bricks which they don't even take the trouble to hide under their coats are close to the business and bosom of Benjamin Harrison."⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Oct. 9, 1889.

⁵⁷ Fish, 224.

⁵⁸ July 20, 1889.

⁵⁹ May 20, 1889.

When some pleased reformers labeled the President a Mugwump, the *Sun* asked, "Who has dared to call Gen. Harrison by such an ill-omened and ridiculous name? What crank, what addle-brain, what pulp pate, or what humorist has dared to so libel a well-meaning Hoosier politician?"

The whirl and rattle of the Republican machine are heard from Eastport to where rolls the Oregon. The most thorough-going and determined spoilsmen of the party, which has made the distribution of the spoils a study and a science, are working the axe and the crib-ticket for all they are worth.⁶⁰

Toward the end of his Administration what the *Sun* called the "wicked accusation" that Harrison favored the Mugwumps became more frequent. Speaking in April, 1892, Curtis said, ". . . the reform law has been as faithfully observed as by the preceding administration, and the scope of the reformed service has been greatly enlarged . . . it is plain that the beneficent flame of reform of which I spoke is in no danger of extinction."⁶¹

Once again "Old Perpetual" became President. Cleveland, whom the *Sun* had been recently advocating for civil service commissioner,⁶² proved the country's "insanity" by his elevation to the White House. He took with him the hopes of many civil service reformers, and in his inaugural address commended the good accomplished by the reform and the further usefulness it promised.⁶³ The *Sun* depicted the plight of Republican reformers: -

The hottest civil service reformers to be found anywhere now are the Republican hold-overs. They began to clutch at civil service reform on the Wednesday after Tuesday after the first Monday of last November, and their clutch has tightened and the wistful appeal in their eyes has grown more piteous every day since. Before the election they hated civil service and despised it, for it seemed to them a trick to keep Democrats in office. Since the election they worship civil service as a means of keeping Republicans in office, and they long to be tucked safely away in the shade of the Chinese dragon's wings. . . . Without a wink or tremor of an eyelash, the reformers tell us that it is of the greatest importance that the Government Printing Office should be included within the protecting civil service rules. To take this great establishment out of politics is a duty.

Is it so, sweet innocence? Your eye teeth are absolutely uncut, aren't they? All you are thinking of is the fulfillment of a high and holy duty, isn't it?

⁶⁰ Apr. 4, 1889.

⁶¹ Curtis, *Orations and Addresses*, II, 504.

⁶² Apr. 3, 1892.

⁶³ Mar. 5, 1893.

From the first, the *Sun* expressed faith that Cleveland had deserted the Mugwumps, and had come to see the true light: "He appoints people," the *Sun* said in March, not because they were his friends or enemies but because he thinks their appointment will conduce to the strength of the Democratic Party."⁶⁴ It was true that many changes were made during Cleveland's second Administration. Josiah Quincy, Assistant Secretary of State, replaced Republicans with Democrats with great rapidity, and the Treasury, Interior and Post-office departments felt the office seekers' onslaught.⁶⁵ In December, 1895, the *Sun* defined with unqualified approval the position of the Democratic party on civil service reform:

In the last Democratic national platform, adopted at Chicago, is a declaration in favor of "honest reform of the civil service," and there is where the Democracy stands today. It is in favor of honest reform, including the abolition of the enormous abuses which the Republicans have introduced; but it is against the system of competitive examinations and non-partisan appointments. It believes that when the people vote to change the administration of the Government, they mean that the change shall be thorough and that no fantastic or personal obstacles shall avail to stop reform. . . . There are doubtless Democrats who believe in competitive examinations and non-partisan appointments; but the vast and overpowering majority of the party utterly reject this new-fangled contrivance, and adhere to the ideas of Jefferson, Jackson, and Tilden.⁶⁶

Nevertheless, by the end of Cleveland's second term civil service reform had made impressive strides. Order after order, culminating in the "blanket order" of May 6, 1896, had extended the classified list. In addition, Cleveland had given the Commissioners warmer co-operation than Harrison, not only retaining Theodore Roosevelt but appointing John Proctor. The *Sun* refused to admit this progress or to join the forces of reform. Convinced with some reason that neither party wanted its opponents to reap the rewards of election, convinced that the popular mind rebelled against this "humbug righteous" dogma, the *Sun* still preached the doctrine of the spoils system.

Dana's stand, explained as it was with a pungent wit, must have had much influence among the masses of Democratic and Republican politicians. A writer in 1888 remarked of the *Sun*: "There is however one principle which it never deserts—it is for the spoils system first, last

⁶⁴ Mar. 27, 1893.

⁶⁵ Rhodes, VIII, 411-412.

⁶⁶ Dec. 4, 1895.

and all the time.”⁶⁷ Liberal thinkers, such as Godkin and Cleveland, of course looked upon the *Sun* as pernicious. William Dudley Foulke notes the *Sun*’s amusing report that a certain Mugwump convention in Indiana “was held when Swift called up Foulke over the telephone and they decided upon the resolutions and candidates.” Foulke admitted it was a good deal that way, yet he knew the *Sun* was exaggerating and the reformers were far from politicians.⁶⁸ Ida Tarbell read the *Sun* because it amused her and she wanted to know what Dana had to say, even though she chose the *Evening Post* and *Nation* as a guide.⁶⁹

Although few, if any, of the arguments used by the *Sun* against civil service would be regarded as valid today, many of the weaknesses in the system which it pointed out are still apparent. Dana was emphatically in favor of reforming the public service, but he was decidedly opposed to reforming it in the interest of any party or individual to whom he was opposed. During the Administrations of Grant and Hayes he feared, not without ample cause, that civil service reform would be used to fasten the grip of the Republican party upon the country. He feared it would be used by Cleveland to strengthen his personal popularity with the Mugwumps at the expense of the Democratic party. Overwhelmed and blinded by the magnitude of corruption on the one hand and by the hypocrisy of reformers on the other, he thought it more practical to entrust the efficiency of the public service to rotation in office every four or eight years.

⁶⁷ *The Writer*, Sept. 1888.

⁶⁸ *Fighting the Spoilsmen*, 13.

⁶⁹ Personal Interview.

CHAPTER VIII

REFORM VERSUS REFORMER

APART from reforms sought within the Governmental structure, there were many demands for social and cultural improvement in Dana's day. There were, for instance, the Suffragists demanding the political and economic emancipation of women. After the Civil War they intensified their activities, but they were generally treated with ridicule, indifference or fanatical opposition.

In discussing the proposition that women are of equal intelligence with men, the *Sun* took a progressive stand for 1868. It commented upon an experiment in England testing the intelligence of men and women teachers, in which no difference in capacity was found between the sexes on the same subjects, what difference there was being in favor of the girls—and especially in mathematics! "The truth is," it said, "that equal training will generally produce more equal results as between the two sexes than is commonly supposed, except when physical weakness intervenes in the point of endurance."¹

The *Sun* considered the higher education of women a necessity. In 1868 it advocated an evening high school for girls, suggesting that the free academy, which was being abandoned for the new College of the City of New York, be fitted up for use as a women's college:

Thousands of young women in the city have to depend upon their own exertion for their daily bread. . . .

In this great city of New York no distinction should exist in providing means for the proper education of our people. The advantages so fully bestowed upon our young men to aid them in fighting the great battle of life should be extended to the girls also. We earnestly hope that before another winter has rolled by, we shall have the pleasure of announcing the establishment of a College and Evening High School for the young women of our city.²

The *Sun* applauded each step in the advance of women's rights in Europe and the United States. When the *Christian Register*, a Unitarian

¹ Mar. 5, 1868.

² Feb. 21, 1868.

paper, made the statement, "Women will always prefer to work *in the less conspicuous* offices of the ministry," the *Sun* replied:

In other words, she will do the humbler portion of the labor, and some man or men will carry off the honors and the rewards. The same principle of paying women less money than men for the same services is to be applied in the church as in the school-room. This is unjust, and if it is ever to be reformed there can be no better place to begin than among the unitarian societies of Essex county, a people second to none in the world in freedom of thought and intellectual culture.³

The *Sun* attacked President Dwight for his refusal to admit three women applicants to the Columbia Law School since no objection had been made to them on account of age, education or character. "If the women's suffrage movement ever succeeds," the *Sun* said, "it will be as a result of just such injustice as that which President Dwight regards it as his duty to show toward women seeking the benefits of his institution."⁴

Yet before ten years had elapsed the *Sun* had completely reversed its position. In 1876 it published an editorial entitled, "Shall Boys and Girls Go to School Together?" The presidents of six leading colleges were in controversy over the matter at a convention in Boston. It was argued that the moral atmosphere of a boys' school was not a fitting one for girls and also that the physical condition of girls would prevent them from entering into competition with boys in the high schools:

The Hon. Charles Francis Adams opposes co-education, but thinks there is craze enough in favor of it to force it into our educational system, where it will remain until some shocking scandal frightens the community back into the European system of separate schools.

As to the educating the sexes together we are inclined to agree with Mr. Adams.⁵

The *Sun* had advanced the idea of co-educational schools and then repudiated it. Later it denounced a proposed college for women, using a stock argument against it, namely that women's health would be endangered:

A Mr. Carey has presented a report showing the increase in the employment of female labor in the past ten years. He also pointed out simultaneous increases

³ Mar. 30, 1869.

⁴ Oct. 7, 1869.

⁵ Nov. 10, 1876.

in the number of women attending institutions of higher learning.

We cannot agree with Mr. Carey, however, that this education is altogether advantageous to women. "Let our women feel their intellectual power, and hold them back if you can," he exclaims. But, unfortunately, very much of the education he extoles is not adapted to the wants of women and to their mental and physical conditions. It is usually too general, whereas they need specific instruction to fit them to engage with men in the contest for livelihood. Our Normal College, for instance, drives the girls too hard, and even then turns them out prepared for no other calling than that of teaching, a calling already overcrowded. It is not lack of intellectual power which handicaps women in the race for employment, but their physical limitations and their lack of special training for particular work for which there is a demand.⁶

Although the suffrage movement was concerned with equal rights for women in education and industry, its real objective was political emancipation. Given the ballot, the Suffragists believed other rights could be secured. This was the cause to which their magazine was primarily dedicated, a cause which Dana treated with tolerance and occasional humor. In 1868, the *Sun* made sly fun of an article in the magazine "Revolution" by Elizabeth Cady Stanton⁷ which reported a recent convocation of the Women Suffragists, where various candidates for the Presidency had been appraised:

Of Gen. Grant, she says, the women complain that he has no small talk, and the men that he has no tall talk, both of which objections are undoubtedly well founded.

To Chief Justice Chase one lady objected at this meeting that he had no heart; he was cold as a clam, and the women could never go to him with their sorrows and expect to see a tear in his eye. Besides, the Chief Justice has had his name taken from the Advisory Committee of the Women's Franchise Association, where it stood with such men as Ben. Wade, Gratz Brown, and Judge Underwood.

Colfax is a great favorite with the ladies because he always had something gracious or amusing to say and isn't all the time thinking how he looks.⁸

Other ridiculous statements were attributed to the women. One was quoted as saying that "Fessenden looked out of humor with the world"; another, "that he had some milk of kindness flowing in his veins." All agreed that Ben. Wade was substantially "sound and good"; but "that he needed polishing up, and a new set of teeth." The *Sun's* article was

⁶ Nov. 23, 1884.

⁷ Anthony, Susan B., *History of Woman Suffrage*, Vol. I, Chap. II.

⁸ Feb. 21, 1868.

apparently intended to show that women were unable to discuss presidential candidates on any but sentimental and personal grounds. But it was mild criticism of the Women Suffragists, who were far more used to being called "hyenas," "cats," "crowing hens," "bold wantons" or "unsexed females."⁹ To Dana's credit, the *Sun* never indulged in this type of ribaldry.

At another time we find the *Sun* defending woman suffrage and calling men selfish and cowardly for their general opposition:

They cherish a fear, which they think is well grounded, that if the women are allowed to vote they will first deprive the men of the right of holding office, and then take away the suffrage from them. The women cannot be enfranchised with safety to the rights of men, is their belief. Hence they are resolved to oppose this great political change. Shame upon such cowardice and selfishness!¹⁰

In defense of Mrs. Stanton, who refuted the argument that women could not attend to their homes and take an active part in politics, the *Sun* reminded its readers that Mrs. Stanton had seven babies to look after. "No doubt," it said, "she would make a better legislator than most of the men who now monopolize the office."¹¹ Today this seems a mild statement, but in 1868 it was almost revolutionary. Assertions of this kind explain why the *Sun* was sometimes called a radical paper.

When the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments were drafted, the Women Suffragists made an effort to have the term "universal suffrage" substituted for "manhood suffrage." They had done much for the emancipation of the Negro. They now expected assistance from Abolitionists in the enfranchisement of women, both white and black; but the leading Abolitionists, fearing that Negro suffrage would be endangered, refused to assist them. The Democrats were more willing, and aided them by presenting petitions and franking documents, for which service they were frequently called hypocrites. Nevertheless, the Suffragists were glad to profit by their help, saying the "hypocrisy of the Democrats serves us a better purpose in the present emergency than does the treachery of the Republicans."¹² The *Sun* treated the proposals of extreme Democrats to adopt suffrage for both Negroes and women with philosophic calm:

⁹ Anthony, IV, Preface xxviii.

¹⁰ May 14, 1868.

¹¹ May 15, 1868.

¹² Anthony, II, 322.

These proposals would seem to be in perfect accordance with the fundamental principles of the party; but we fancy it will be a long while before they are recognized as an essential part of the regular platform. The more advanced thinkers may adopt them very soon, but the Democracy as a whole will be more slow and cautious.¹³

In 1872, Susan B. Anthony determined to vote and issued a circular inviting her sister Suffragists to accompany her to the polls. Her purpose was to secure an interpretation of the Constitutional clause upon citizenship and voting. She was immediately arrested, whereupon many papers came to her defense,¹⁴ none more nobly than the *New York Sun*:

The arrest of the fifteen women of Rochester, and the imprisonment of the renowned Miss Susan B. Anthony, for voting at the November election, afford a curious illustration of the extent to which the United States Government is stretching its hand in these matters. If these women violated any law at all by voting, it was clearly a statute of the State. It is only by an overstrained construction of the XIV and XV Amendments that the National Government can force its long finger into the Rochester case at all.

But so it is. Eager to crowd in and regulate the elections at every poll in the Union, the power at Washington strikes down a whole State government in Louisiana, and holds to bail a handful of women in New York. Nothing can escape its eye or elude its grasp. It can soar high; it can stoop low. It can enjoin a Governor in New Orleans; it can jug a woman in Rochester. . . .

By the by, we advise Miss Anthony not to go to jail. Perhaps she feels that she deserves some punishment for voting for Gen. Grant; but it is aailable offence. "Going to prison for the good of the cause" may do for poetry, but it becomes very prosaic when reduced to practice. Let Miss Anthony enter into bonds, adjust her spectacles, face her accusers, and argue her own case.¹⁵

Susan Anthony's trial opened in Canandaigua, N.Y. on the 18th of June under Judge Hunt, who had already penned his decision.¹⁶ The case for each side was formally presented and the Judge then directed the jury to issue a verdict of guilty. A motion for a new trial was denied. One jurymen said, "The verdict of guilty would not have been mine could I have spoken, nor should I have been alone. There were others who thought as I did, but we could not speak."¹⁷ Dana arose in wrath. In a leading editorial on June 23, 1873, entitled, "The Conduct of Judge

¹³ Apr. 10, 1868

¹⁴ *New York Commercial Advertiser*; *Rochester Democrat*; *Rochester Chronicle*; *Syracuse Standard*; *Rochester Union and Advertiser*.

¹⁵ Jan. 4, 1873.

¹⁶ Anthony, II, 647.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 689.

Hunt in the Trial of Susan B. Anthony," the *Sun* inveighed against what it considered one of the most degrading aspects of Grantism:

Miss Susan B. Anthony was arraigned before Judge Hunt, charged under the statute with illegal voting. To this accusation she pleaded not guilty, and, as the legal phrase is, "put herself upon her country," that is, demanded trial by jury.

The right of trial by jury—Judge Hunt might have known if he had not forgotten his Blackstone—is a right of traditional and precious value; and if the "learned" Judge had found time to learn the Constitution of the United States, as many school children are wisely compelled to do nowadays, he would have known that it is secured by that all-controlling instrument "to the accused" in all criminal prosecutions.

Judge Hunt allowed the jury to be impanelled and sworn, and to hear the evidence; but when the case had reached the point of rendering of the verdict, he directed a verdict of guilty! . . .

This offence of Judge Hunt is of too grave a nature, of too pernicious practical consequence to be disregarded or to be passed over lightly. It concerns every man and woman living, and every child born or to be born, in the United States.

It overthrows civil liberty in the United States. Blot out the right of trial by jury from the Constitution of the United States, as he has now done in principle and practice, and nothing remains in that instrument worth preserving, for it is the hook on which all the other vital civil rights hang.¹⁸

As the years went by woman suffrage gained ground; some States considered laws and prominent men in public life took up the cause. In 1883, the *Sun* described the odium which had been attached to the movement:

A quarter of a century ago people generally assumed that a male advocate of woman suffrage was either a long-haired and wild-eyed type of social agitator or a pestilent radical with a sneaking free-love purpose, and no regard whatever for what was most sacred in the home and in religion, or most venerated by the decent and respectable. At best he was sure to be an abolitionist, a name by which few men in those days liked to be called in this free republic.

The advocate of woman's suffrage a generation ago, in fine, was popularly pictured as a social and political nondescript, a bran bread philosopher, a raging infidel, whose fit and chosen associates among women were only the short-haired members of the sisterhood in Bloomer costumes who shrieked from platforms while their husbands were at home looking after the babies and sweeping out the house.

What a change has taken place since then! ¹⁹

¹⁸ June 23, 1873.

¹⁹ Apr. 8, 1883.

Nevertheless, the *Sun* opposed a woman's suffrage amendment to the New York State constitution:

It is manifest that nine women out of ten; nay, ninety-nine out of a hundred, do not care to vote. They do not ask for the privilege. It must be thrust upon them, if it is granted at all. Even where they have been allowed to vote for school offices, for instance, they have generally neglected the opportunity, at least in the older States, though they may have conquered their aversion in a Western territory, where women suffrage was tried.

It will be hard to excite men's zeal in behalf of an innovation for which those for whose benefit it is proposed do not ask, which they do not want, to which in truth, they are pretty generally opposed.²⁰

In the eighties the *Sun* gave statistics to prove not only the indifference of women to the ballot, but their actual "repugnance to voting."²¹ The Suffragists had found it easier to convince men of their rights than to inspire their own sex. It is possible that Dana's change in attitude was based upon observation. Had women shown more enthusiasm for political freedom, perhaps the *Sun* would have supported them. It is more likely the shift was a manifestation of Dana's growing conservatism. By 1885, the *Sun* was scornful of the claim that women voters would elevate the morals of the country, insisting that by nature they were unsuited for political life. The *Sun* said that the introduction of women voters would bring in "new envies and jealousies, and a kind of spitefulness which is peculiarly feminine."²² It further argued at the time of the proposed admission of Wyoming as a woman suffrage State:

Women do not vote because there is not necessity for voting. Their legal rights are protected, their interests promoted, their influence acknowledged, and their wishes complied with, by the ballot in the hands of father, husband, brother, or son as the case may be. If it were not so, the demand for female suffrage would have a sound basis, and the demand for it would be indeed resistless.²³

Another cause into which reformers entered with zeal was the movement for temperance. The *Sun* took its first stand on this question in January, 1868. Liquor interests in the State were anxious to repeal the excise law, under the operation of which more than \$2,000,000 had been collected for licenses and fines during a period of thirteen months. Ac-

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Jan. 6, 1884; May 12, 1884; June 14, 1884.

²² Jan. 11, 1885.

²³ Dec. 14, 1891.

cording to the Excise Commissioners, the cost of collecting this had been somewhat less than three per cent of the sum. The *Sun* remarked:

It is hard to believe that under a system less severe, or under the old system revived, anything like this sum could be realized; and it is as certain as anything can be that with the municipal government in control, the cost of collection would nearly equal the amount collected. The lion's share of this money went to the sinking funds of Brooklyn and New York; but a considerable sum accrued to the Commissioners of Charities and Corrections, the common schools of Richmond and Queens counties, the New York Inebriate Asylum, and the Inebriate Asylum for Kings county. This is certainly a judicious application of the money derived from this source. If the tendency of the dram shops is to promote disease, destitution and suffering, it is just that they should be made to appease at least a portion of the ills they inflict.²⁴

The *Sun* advised trade unions to start a temperance reform among their members, "drunkenness being the cause of more distress than all the oppressions of capital put together."²⁵ Next day it spoke of the need for the inebriate asylum "now in process of erection on Ward's Island" where habitual drunkards might be sent "for a period long enough to wean them, if possible, from the thralldom of intemperance," or at least "temporarily prevent them from further self debasement."²⁶ Speaking of a debate in the British Parliament in which it was argued that conditions in Ireland were improving "because the consumption of spirits, *'which is the best test of a people's prosperity'* was increasing among them," the *Sun* said, "A great consumption of spirits is not a blessing but a curse to a country; and Ireland would be infinitely better off today if not a drop of liquor could be procured in all her borders."²⁷

Dana believed in temperance but not in prohibition. In answer to Mrs. Stanton's prophecy that women, when they became enfranchised, would vote out the rum holes the *Sun* said, "The people of the State of Massachusetts, after an experience of three years, have made up their minds that rum holes cannot be 'voted down'; and the same would be the result of every other attempt to forcibly suppress vice."²⁸ This position was maintained by the *Sun* for the next thirty years.

Of the practical un wisdom of legislation prohibiting the use of intoxicating drinks, under all circumstances, it is hardly necessary for us to speak. The at-

²⁴ Jan. 29, 1868.

²⁵ Feb. 20, 1868.

²⁶ Jan. 29, 1868.

²⁷ Feb. 20, 1868.

²⁸ Feb. 21, 1868.

tempt to enforce such legislation has recently been made in Massachusetts, with such an overwhelming demonstration of failure, that many strong temperance men have abandoned its advocacy.

Unless stealing, and murder, and arson for instance were regarded by nearly everybody as deserving of punishment, it would be in vain to pass laws and provide courts and policemen to restrain the commission of those crimes. In point of fact, it is overwhelming public opinion against them which prevents their being committed and not tenets of law.

But while at present, three out of four of our citizens are more or less accustomed to drink wine, beer, whiskey, and other liquids of that sort, a law to restrain them from doing so would be like the law against taking over seven per cent per annum for the use of money, nothing but an instrument by which means the dishonest men could plunder those who gave them the opportunity.²⁹

The Prohibition party nominated its first national ticket in 1872.³⁰ The *Sun* was only too willing to inform the temperance forces of Grant's drinking habits:

Administration newspapers declare that Dr. Greeley's temperance principles will throw a large body of voters over to Grant. They thus virtually declare that a President who gets drunk occasionally is more acceptable to the nation than one who drinks no intoxicating liquor. Since the temperance issue is thus gratuitously lugged into the campaign by the supporters of the Administration, we must of course take Horace Greeley and Useless S. Grant as representing the two sides of the question.

With the cold water farmer of Chappaqua in the White House, Gen. Butler will never have an opportunity to denounce the President for habitual intoxication. Gen. Butler can never accuse Dr. Greeley of staggering homeward from Gen. Sheridan's headquarters on Sunday morning, and requiring the entire sidewalk for navigation, when the streets are filled with churchgoers. President Greeley will never call upon Senator Sumner in a maudlin state of drunkenness, and endeavor to lobby through the Senate a San Domingo swindle under the impression that Mr. Sumner is Chairman of the Judiciary Committee. . . .

If the Administration wants to make an issue on these points, the people will probably accept it. In that case, however, the Philadelphia Convention might do well to drop Schuyler Colfax, the Son of Temperance, and take the Hon. Zach Chandler of Michigan as its candidate for Vice-President.³¹

In 1876, the Prohibitionists again nominated a ticket, this time headed by Green Clay Smith. The *Sun* had little to say concerning the activities of the party. Its longest comment upon the subject was a

²⁹ June 4, 1869.

³⁰ Colvin, David L., *Prohibition in the United States*, Chap. V.

³¹ May 18, 1872.

satirical editorial entitled, "The Temperance Folk and the *Tribune* Rum Shop." ³²

Seven years later the *Sun* quoted Neal Dow, the well known prohibitionist leader, who assured a questioner that the laws against liquor in Maine were a "great success" and the assertions made to the contrary "an old lie, invented by unscrupulous men in the liquor interests." It rebuked the gentleman who had asked the question for his naïveté:

For accurate and impartial information he could not have gone to a worse quarter than the venerable father of the prohibitory system. He might as well ask the inventor of a perpetual motion machine whether the machine was likely to work when finished.

In this same editorial the *Sun* pointed out the different ways in which the prohibitory laws of Maine were circumvented, naming six channels through which the people of the State received their liquor supply—open saloons, hotel bar-rooms, grocers, druggists, railroads, steamboats and express companies:

It appears to be a colossal mistake to assume that all the traffic in liquor in Maine has been driven into obscure hiding places behind disreputable doors—into dens and shanties whose stock in trade as Mr. Dingley says "consists of a few concealed bottles or kegs." And yet the defenders of the prohibitory system almost invariably base their arguments and assertion upon the very assumption reenforced by imperfect statistics and a painful inability or unwillingness to open their eyes to the true conditions of things in their own state.³³

The *Sun* reiterated its belief in high license on different occasions during 1884 when John P. St. John ran as presidential candidate of the Prohibition party. Such statements as the following show how clearly defined its position was:

Neither now nor at any time is prohibition feasible. It cannot be enforced, while experience shows that high licenses are practicable and that they work well.³⁴

The Republican party is pledged to submit to the people the question of tee-total prohibition; but the high license system is much more rational and much better suited to this imperfect world.³⁵

High license is the true solution of the liquor question.³⁶

³² Aug. 8, 1876.

³³ Mar. 11, 1883.

³⁴ Feb. 20, 1884.

³⁵ Feb. 3, 1884.

³⁶ May 8, 1884.

Its reasons for favoring high license were: thus far this method has been the only effective one of regulating the liquor traffic; high license reduces other taxes; the expense of maintaining public order is decreased. The *Sun* also asserted that under licensing, the liquor business was controlled by men whose interests induced them to assist in enforcing the laws, so that both those who drank and those who refrained were better protected.³⁷

In 1886, an editorial appeared on Blaine and prohibition:

In his speeches during the Maine campaign Mr. Blaine gave a good deal of attention to the Prohibitionists. They helped beat him in 1884 and they started out a few months ago with apparently more vigor than ever. Mr. Blaine evidently feared that their opposition would be dangerous to the Republican party. The Prohibitionists themselves were filled with the idea that they had the Republican party where its wool was short. The election has for the present put it out of their power to cause the Republicans alarm. The display of Prohibition weakness in States where a showing of strength was expected will not be regarded by the enthusiasts of the party as a discouraging sign. Nothing can discourage them. . . .

Decidedly our friends, the Prohibitionists, are of less political importance than they have supposed, but that need not prevent them from hammering away at the old nail.³⁸

But when the Prohibition vote was tallied in December it was discovered that it had increased over the vote two years before:

Late information swells the Prohibitionist totals to dimensions of unexpected magnitude. Instead of any decline in interest, any signs of weakening as a political organization, we find enormous gains almost everywhere for the Prohibitionists.

The *Voice* is confident that the aggregate vote cast last month by the Prohibitionists will not fall much below 300,000 in the United States. St. John's vote for President (in 1884) was only 150,268.

All this amounts to saying that the Prohibitionists voting strength has doubled in two years, a fact sufficiently remarkable to engage the attention of all students of the political situation.

These men mean business.³⁹

In March, 1888 the *Sun* said that, in spite of activity and persistency, the Prohibitionists' prospects of holding the political balance of power

³⁷ Apr. 4, 1885; Sept. 11, 1885.

³⁸ Nov. 11, 1886.

³⁹ Dec. 10, 1886.

were not as great as they had seemed. It declared that in 1884 many people who could not support Blaine, and would not support Cleveland, had voted the Temperance ticket. Furthermore, it declared, "Their prosperity, like that of the rest of the community, is interested in the continuance of protection, and should the election turn upon a life-and-death struggle between Protection and Free Trade, they would cease to be Prohibitionists, and vote as Protectionists." ⁴⁰

In the Presidential campaign of 1888 the *Sun*, with characteristic ingenuity, attempted to influence the voters against Cleveland, by saying that although he had always drunk like a common being, he had finally abandoned the habit, "at the solicitation of his beautiful and accomplished wife." The Buffalo *Democrat* took exception to the *Sun's* remarks, saying, "In simple plain words, the *Sun* lies. It has not only said an untruth but it has said it knowingly and purposely to do injury to Cleveland." Whereupon the *Sun* innocently replied, "Certainly there is nothing in this that can be injurious to Mr. Cleveland, not even among fanatical guzzling German beer drinkers. On the contrary it is in our judgment most creditable to him." ⁴¹

The Prohibitionists polled a heavier vote in 1888 than in any previous year, showing an increase of 98,136 over 1884. But the *Sun* believed that the only state in which they had exerted a controlling influence was Connecticut. "As to the general result, it was not affected by the Prohibitionist canvass. Really the Prohibitionists are not in politics. This is the case in a nutshell." ⁴²

The *Sun* also took an interest in the progress of temperance reform in various states. In 1869, noting a statute passed by the "fanatics" of Massachusetts, it declared there was no reason for expecting this newly-restored prohibitory law to produce any better results in the future than in the past. ⁴³ It grieved that Rhode Island had become so excited over the subject as to amend its constitution: "The experience of the State and the growth of the liquor traffic under the stimulus of prohibition affords a lesson and a warning to other commonwealths where crank reformers have the floor." ⁴⁴ It reported that some of the Texas Prohibitionists, taking the law into their own hands, were trying to promote

⁴⁰ Mar. 19, 1888.

⁴¹ July 11, 1888.

⁴² Dec. 14, 1888.

⁴³ July 2, 1869.

⁴⁴ Mar. 13, 1889.

temperance reform by lynching saloon keepers.⁴⁵ In 1889, the *Sun* awaited anxiously the rejection of the prohibition amendment in Pennsylvania, heralding the event with gratification when it occurred.⁴⁶ It sarcastically congratulated New Jersey for a bill prohibiting the growth of any crop from which intoxicating drinks could be made. "This, as we have often insisted, is the only logical course for the Prohibitionists to take, although they are not yet logical enough to take it. Beer must be fought in the hops, and cider shut out by prohibiting apple trees."⁴⁷

Problems of education, religion, and national morals were treated extensively in the *Sun*. On the first of these Dana had fixed convictions, emanating from the New England precept that in a democracy all persons, whether rich or poor, should receive a free education. They were to receive this education for the purpose of voting intelligently and taking part in their own government. The *Sun* was anxious that emphasis be put upon primary and grammar schools even if the benefits of higher education be sacrificed. It feared that if taxes were diverted to the maintenance of colleges it would be at the expense of the elementary education. This idea was expressed in 1884 as follows:

The people will not grudge the money which goes to the building and maintenance of primary and grammar schools. Our school system is defective if any child in the city who desires to enjoy its advantages is not able to get instruction. But the burden is heavy, and the people who bear it will demand that the Board of Education shall only spend money which goes for the general benefit.

That is, our School Commissioners must stop their colleges and their fancy schools, their ornamental teaching, and their educational experiments, and devote their money to the simple and practical education required by the children who frequent the primary and grammar schools. If they should do that they would have enough annually from their present allowance to meet the current demands for more school room.⁴⁸

The *Sun* believed that educating children of the rich and poor together inculcated democracy and, therefore, encouraged parents to devote themselves to the perfection of the public schools. Numerous editorials were written asserting their superiority over private institutions. A typical one dealt specifically with New York City schools:

⁴⁵ Jan. 11, 1888.

⁴⁶ June 20, 1889.

⁴⁷ Feb. 10, 1888.

⁴⁸ Sept. 11, 1884.

Our free schools educate the vast majority of the children of New York. A comparatively small number go to private schools, at which a tuition fee is charged, and these schools as a rule are really not so good as those provided by the people without charge. There are many of them scattered over the city, but parents complain that it is hard to find one where the training is thorough and the discipline strict and healthy. The masters are, in many cases, too anxious to make money to do their work as it ought to be done, while in the public schools there is no such temptation to a vicious indulgence.⁴⁹

The *Sun* believed in higher education only for the few, who because of inclination were capable of receiving from a University something besides a "smattering of Latin, Greek and abstract philosophy." It thought that the problem of educating the talented man who could not afford a college education should be met by spending \$10,000 a year on scholarships at Columbia or New York University rather than appropriating \$1,000,000 annually for a free institution. "New York," it said, "is a great commercial and manufacturing center, and its interests require not scholars but merchants and artisans. If the city is going to spend money for the purpose of gratuitously educating its children in more than the necessary rudiments of knowledge, it should train machinists, engineers, architects, and inventors." Therefore, "let it teach boys how to keep books, and transact business so that they may be productive members of society":

Culture and refinement are good things, but they ought not to be sought at the expense of a man's bread and butter. A person who is too poor to pay for a college education is too poor to take it as a gift, unless he has some immediate prospect of making it available in the University, or as a lawyer or teacher, or in some similar occupation, for which, we venture to say, most of our free college graduates have little taste.

Convert this college into a business high school, and keep it where it is now, at an expense of about thirty thousand dollars a year, and it may be tolerated. But these schemes to take vast sums out of the pockets of the taxpayers to make it a great and useless concern, can only lead the people to have it pulled down.⁵⁰

The tendency toward national encroachment upon state or municipal supervision of education was consistently resisted by the *Sun*. Mr. Sumner's plan to provide schools for the Negroes caused it to write, "We presume Congress will do nothing of the sort."⁵¹ In 1870, it remarked

⁴⁹ Sept. 5, 1878.

⁵⁰ Apr. 6, 1868.

⁵¹ Feb. 11, 1870.

upon an "absurd bill" introduced by Hoar to establish "what he calls" a national system of education.⁵² Two years later it attacked the proposal to establish a National University:

A bill to set apart 10,000,000 acres of public land for the purpose of maintaining a National University has been introduced into the House of Representatives by Mr. McCrary of Iowa. The plan and government of the institution are reserved for future legislation, which it is to be hoped will be rendered unnecessary by the prompt defeat of the first step toward it. There are more than enough colleges and universities already in existence in the country, and such a one as Mr. McCrary has in view would be nothing more than an asylum for useless officeholders.⁵³

This view it steadily maintained. In 1889, it said:

It is the business of a free government to mind its own business. The business of the Government of the United States is to discharge the powers and the duties granted to it by the States. To teach boys and men is not one of those duties. Local grants and private benefactions are sufficient for the purpose of education. It is the privilege of Americans as yet that they are self educated. That is, they owe their education to themselves or to town, county, or State taxation. That the Federal Government should become the paymaster, and so the inspirer of professors of history and political economy, and the interpreters of the Constitution, and the science of taxation is not to be borne.⁵⁴

The *Sun* heartily deprecated honorary degrees, which "no amount of learning and acquirements suffices to obtain unless the good will or favor of a college faculty be first obtained."⁵⁵ Dana was horrified that Grant was given an honorary degree when all knew that a man who "writes about 'results hanging on a state,' and about 'former precedents,' is an ignoramus who has no longer an occasion to wish with Dogberry. 'Oh, that I had been written down an ass.'"⁵⁶ "What nonsense!" the *Sun* exclaimed when Governor Seymour was awarded the degree of Doctor of Literature. "A thousand years ago, when learned men were few, a doctor's diploma had a meaning; but now it is nothing but a toy . . . an obsolete and ridiculous ceremony, more honored in the breach than in the observance."⁵⁷

⁵² Mar. 3, 1870.

⁵³ Jan. 1, 1872.

⁵⁴ Apr. 4, 1889.

⁵⁵ June 21, 1869.

⁵⁶ May 16, 1872.

⁵⁷ Aug. 8, 1870.

The attitude of the *Sun* toward religion was less clearly defined than that toward education. It appeared orthodox or unorthodox, liberal or conservative, according to the occasion. After discussing pros and cons in the controversies over religion instruction, it usually came to the conclusion that there were ample opportunities for religious training outside the public school. In 1877, the New Haven Board of Education discontinued religious exercises. Commenting upon this, the *Sun* said that since citizens of all beliefs were taxed equally, "all these citizens have an equal right to their privileges for their children." It continued:

As a matter of fact the American community is made up of Protestants, Roman Catholics, Israelites, Spiritualists, skeptics, and infidels, all of whom are equally taxed for the common schools and have equal rights in them. A majority of Protestants in a town have no more right to shut up Bob Ingersoll to a choice between having his boy compelled to listen to daily selections from the Bible, than a majority of Ingersollian unbelievers would have to shut up Brother Talmage—for instance—to a choice between having his boy compelled to listen daily to selections from Tom Paine and keeping him out of the public school.⁵⁸

Extremely intolerant of agnosticism and atheism, the *Sun* once advised that Robert G. Ingersoll be done away with. The only office which the press ought to perform, it said, is to help "exterminate such a moral pestilence, or hang the moral carrion in chains upon a cross beam as an enemy of society and the destroyer of all that is held holy in this life and the life to come."⁵⁹ Perhaps Dana attacked Ingersoll because he had recently supported Blaine. The *Sun* said, "A man who disbelieves in God might well believe in Blaine."⁶⁰ Its ferocity may have been caused by political considerations, but Dana's tolerance never included unbelievers. Occasionally *Sun* editorials struck notes of deep religious faith. Once it said, "One of the most valuable lessons which Americans can find in the life of Washington is his deep, sincere, and earnest regard for all that concerns the worship of God. . . ."⁶¹ At another time the *Sun* ridiculed a pastor who believed God had spared him while in battle, and wondered what view the man would take who had been blown to pieces in his stead.⁶²

⁵⁸ Dec. 10, 1877.

⁵⁹ Aug. 26, 1877.

⁶⁰ Aug. 26, 1877.

⁶¹ Sept. 27, 1869.

⁶² May 9, 1888.

E. P. Mitchell's interest in spiritualism was reflected in numerous editorials. Sects such as Theosophy, Divine Healing, and Christian Science were catalogued as "clap trap." We now know that Mitchell investigated claims to spiritualistic phenomena time and again, but found no convincing evidence of supernaturalism. The *Sun* declared that, "Of course such practical results as it achieves are mere illustrations of the power of mind over matter; of the imagination over the actual and material, but it is now pushed to an extreme of perilous fanaticism."⁶³ The *Sun* depicted Christian Science as the vice of religious women whose beliefs had been shattered by modern discussion. "They like it because it is nonsense, mystery, jugglery, and a jumble of philosophical abstractions which they are powerless to reduce to order."⁶⁴ There was some truth underlying Christian Science since much of illness can be conquered by will power. But, said the *Sun*, the Christian Science teacher, "no matter how earnest and sincere he may be at the start, is bound to degenerate into a quack, a charlatan, or a dangerous fanatic."⁶⁵

The *Sun* championed Catholicism and consequently circulated in many Irish Catholic homes. In 1868 an editorial entitled "America as the Seat of the Papacy," welcomed the idea of Pope Pius IX establishing his home in America. "He will exchange," the *Sun* wrote, "a territory which he holds rather like a besieged fortress than as the peaceful asylum in which the successor of St. Peter ought to dwell, for the refreshing airs and vivifying waters of a Democracy in the New World."⁶⁶

At the time of the Orangemen riots, July 12, 1871, Catholics were criticized for their attacks upon parading Irish Protestants. The *Sun* came to their defense, declaring that the Irish justified no such conduct, and from the Archbishop down all had forbidden and denounced it:

They have spoken out boldly, like good men and good Christians and the members of their Church sympathize with them. We do not doubt that the Irish Catholics of this city would, if necessary, turn out under arms to defend the right of Orangemen to walk through the streets with their banners and music. It is only the grog-shop and bar-room ruffians, men with no religion and no principles of any kind, who would attempt to kill or maim the Irish Protestants. Good Catholics all repudiate and hate such brutal wickedness.⁶⁷

⁶³ Sept. 16, 1888.

⁶⁴ June 1, 1890.

⁶⁵ Sept. 7, 1889.

⁶⁶ Apr. 9, 1868.

⁶⁷ July 13, 1871.

The *Sun* defended the Catholics against the charge that their church was a dangerous political power, maintaining that they had never attempted to introduce religion into politics, had carefully abstained from interfering with elections, and had never refused to support a candidate for office on the ground that he was a Protestant. As the result of this continued championship, Dana was accused of fostering the doctrines of Romanism to the extent of showing ill will toward the Protestant faith. The *Sun* answered by saying that its purpose was to foster a growing spirit of good will between peoples of all faiths:

The time is at hand when the Christian Church must forget its divisions and overcome its old animosities in order to combine to resist the assaults of modern unbelief, which does not wage war against any particular system of theology, but raises its hand against the foundations of all theology and all revealed religion. Thus assailed from without as never before in Christian history, the Church begins to feel the necessity of union within, and of alliance between its different branches which shall replace the old internecine feuds. . . .⁶⁸

In 1891 the *Sun* answered the question, "Should a Catholic be nominated for President?" in the affirmative. In such an event, it said, he would be nominated as a statesman and party man, not as a Catholic. "We do not think that the religion of the candidate would do him such harm in a political sense as to render his nomination unadvisable for fear of his being defeated on religious grounds in the election."⁶⁹

Although ministers of different faiths were attacked in the columns of the paper for their personal conduct and the "humbugs," such as Divine Healers, Mormons, and Spiritualists, were amply ridiculed, the *Sun* never favored one faith above the other. It discussed Mohammedanism,⁷⁰ Buddhism⁷¹ and other non-Christian groups without prejudice. Shortly before he died, Dana affirmed that he did not believe in an after life.⁷² He must have gradually given up his early orthodoxy, replacing it with personal values based upon his own moral and spiritual experience. From *Sun* editorials one might conclude that Dana had an abiding faith in a divine wisdom, and a great respect for the beneficent influence of religion, but was aware that even in this field the "hypocrites" and "charlatans" intruded.

⁶⁸ Dec. 13, 1884.

⁶⁹ Aug. 14, 1891.

⁷⁰ May 22, 1869.

⁷¹ Nov. 26, 1869.

⁷² Wilson, James H., *Life of Dana*, 451-452.

The *Sun* was progressive in its attitude toward the all-important question of Sunday recreation. It urged opening the libraries on Sunday afternoon, a proposal which created strong opposition in the sixties. It asserted that an opportunity would be offered for young men and the poor to busy themselves in useful ways in the public library. Before Beecher was implicated in a personal scandal, it praised him for the introduction of public lectures "on something else than religious topics at his Bethel on Sunday evenings." It said,

. . . Encouraged by this example, a number of our best citizens have put into circulation a petition asking that the Mercantile Library reading room in Clinton Hall may be kept open on all holidays, including Sundays, from 2 to 10 P.M. . . .

It may be argued with great force that the institution of the Sabbath is for man's benefit, and is not intended to be a means of his punishment. It is a beneficent provision to give rest from wearisome toil one day out of the seven, and if that rest is secured, the purpose of the institution is, so far as the terms creating it are concerned, fully attained. There is no express or implied obligation as to how the time shall be spent, and any recreation or amusements innocent on other days are equally innocent on Sunday. Nor is it necessary that all should take their Sabbath on the same day. The staunchest Puritan allows that ministers, and sextons, and organists, and choir singers, and Sunday school teachers shall labor on Sunday, while others enjoy the benefits of their labors. . . .

Then there are some positive benefits likely to arise from the proposed measure which go far to outweigh any fancied doubts as to its propriety. The class of people whom it would directly benefit is a large one, and exposed to peculiar temptations to vice. It is composed chiefly of the young men from the country, strangers among us, to whom Sunday under our present system is a dreary waste of idle time, almost compelling them to frequent the haunts of dissipation for amusement. Living in crowded boarding houses, with a few or none of the comforts of home, they are ready for anything which promises them **a few hours relief** from the intolerable monotony of perfect idleness.⁷³

In later years, when the *Sun* spoke of the correct way to spend Sunday, it asserted that the day should be an occasion of "recuperation of mind and body for spiritual edification and strengthening." It exhorted everybody to put the day to the best use of his intellect, and said "A careful and thoughtful perusal of the *Sun* is the best beginning of the day."⁷⁴ It had harsh criticisms for certain other literature; for instance, few

⁷³ Mar. 23, 1869.

⁷⁴ Jan. 2, 1877.

of the New York City journals, daily, weekly, or religious were fit to be taken into decent families. "They are sapping the very foundations of morality, the rising generation is familiarized by them with crime in its most heroic and seductive form till the evil threatens to lead to the gravest results."⁷⁵ The *Sun* also disapproved of foul speech, not only the "blasphemy" of Horace Greeley but of any other man who swore, of President Johnson for the language used in his speeches as well as the language used by his opponents. "Let it be distinctively understood," the *Sun* wrote, "that everyone from the President down, who thus disgraces himself by unbecoming language or behavior shall meet with universal and indignant reprobation. . . ." ⁷⁶

The *Sun* disapproved of betting although it did not believe laws to prohibit it would prove effective.⁷⁷ It abhorred drinking, especially among fashionable women and the aristocratic classes of England, if we judge by the amount of space devoted to this topic. It told astonishing facts about "fashionable women" who passed as respectable members of society but whose physicians alone knew their dreadful secrets of alcoholic indulgence⁷⁸ or opium eating.⁷⁹ As for bigamy and prostitution the *Sun* was shocked, yet refused to support Dr. Parkhurst in his moral crusade in New York City. The laws of marriage and divorce were discussed in full. In 1884, the *Sun* agreed with Mrs. Stanton, who believed marriage should be protected by license.⁸⁰ In 1888, when Gov. Hill refused to sign a bill requiring marriage licenses in the State of New York, it maintained there was an evil far more serious than easy marrying, "It is the discouragement of matrimony."⁸¹ It agreed that divorces should be handled with the utmost delicacy saying, "We cannot afford to be too careful of the feelings of the persons who are unfortunate enough to have to resort to the divorce courts."⁸² At the same time it objected to a law protecting the secrecy of divorces. "In this country there should be no secrecy in regard to the manner in which any operation of the Government is conducted."⁸³ It opposed all

⁷⁵ Feb. 14, 1868.

⁷⁶ May 5, 1868.

⁷⁷ Dec. 2, 1888.

⁷⁸ Aug. 25, 1876.

⁷⁹ Oct. 22, 1890.

⁸⁰ Sept. 13, 1884.

⁸¹ Apr. 29, 1888.

⁸² Jan. 13, 1884.

⁸³ Oct. 14, 1889.

attempts made to secure uniform divorce legislation throughout the states.⁸⁴ It condemned birth control and all "obscene literature and advertisements pertaining to it."⁸⁵ The *Sun* was as opposed to laws preventing public hanging as it was opposed to capital punishment. If people were to be hung, executed or guillotined it advocated that it be made public so that all could remember the event. If capital punishment was necessary it preferred gas to the guillotine as a substitute for hanging. In 1888, it said:

The most awful work done by society is this killing of men for the satisfaction of justice, and therefore if it is done at all it should be known to society in all its horrible details, so that an execution may be always an impressive event in the minds of the whole public. If such publicity is dangerous and demoralizing, the remedy is not in the secrecy of executions proposed by these cranky Commissioners, but in the abolition of capital punishment altogether. As to the shock to humanity, too, it is not in the method of killing, but in the killing itself, whatever the method.⁸⁶

Dana really had little faith in human nature and the *Sun* once shrewdly remarked, "When vice gets stupid and dull there is a chance for virtue."⁸⁷

The *Sun* was concerned over housing arrangements, sanitary conditions, bathing provisions, and safety devices. In 1872 it ran a series of editorials exposing the slums of New York and exhorting the people to eliminate unhealthy surroundings as a preventative against disease. One of the early remedies suggested was co-operative stores and co-operative housekeeping.⁸⁸ In 1879, it reported:

The sketches that have been given in the *Sun* of scenes that have come under the eyes of our reporters disclose enough pity in the hardest heart. The streets, sidewalks, and walls of houses became so intensely heated by each day's action of the sun's rays that no place could be found as refuge from the fierce caloric. Think of a block of brick and stone, five stories high, with a front of one hundred feet, inhabited by over one hundred families. Its entrance and passages badly constructed, pestilential waste papers which admit the death loaded odors of sinks and sewers. No air can be admitted through window or door that has not been saturated with moisture obtained from filthy street or cellar, and this must be breathed over and over again, combined with the ef-

⁸⁴ Oct. 12, 1891.

⁸⁵ Oct. 2, 1874.

⁸⁶ Jan. 19, 1888.

⁸⁷ Apr. 24, 1868.

⁸⁸ May 1, 1868.

fluvia arising from human beings whose soiled clothing is saturated with perspiration.

The mortality from the effects of the heat has been fearful, and numbers who have not died have been permanently injured, while many were recovering from sick beds were again prostrated. Such troubles form a portion of the lot of man, and may be expected as long as he inhabits the earth; but that they should be mitigated and as far as possible averted by wise customs and laws, is a requirement of humanity and civilization that cannot be unheeded with impunity by any nation or city.

After portraying these horrors, the *Sun* proposed the establishment of cottages outside of New York where workers might live with respectable home accommodations.⁸⁹ For this reason it advocated cheaper transportation in and out of the industrial sections. At another time, it suggested that the owners of buildings be required by law to make proper repairs and abate all nuisances at once.⁹⁰ The shallow philosophy of the day was frequently reflected in Dana's failure to propose more fundamental economic reforms for the abuses which he described with such compassion.

Noting a plan in England which had for its goal putting all matters relating to the public health under the control of a single Minister, the *Sun* said:

The United States and the State of New York especially might in this instance, well take a pattern after England. The threatened visitation of cholera in the early part of the fall excited the Health authorities of this city to measures of prevention. A few of the streets received a cleansing and the Street Contractor Major Brown, was soundly rated for his neglect of duty. But Mulberry Street, Park Street, and a number of other down-town thoroughfares, still remain, however, in their old filthy condition. Even on these frosty days the sense of smell is offended by the exhalations from the refuse deposited in the reeking gutters. If we desire to prevent a heavy death rate in the coming spring, prompt and effective measures must at once be employed.⁹¹

But when a bill proposing the disposal of garbage outside the twenty mile limit, was introduced into the New York Assembly in 1888 the *Sun* strongly opposed the measure on the ground that "by this bill shores which are now clean, sweet and beautiful, would be deluged with filth and perhaps impregnated with disease."⁹²

⁸⁹ July 12, 1872.

⁹⁰ July 16, 1872.

⁹¹ Jan. 1, 1872.

⁹² May 6, 1888.

These questions of education, religion, manners, morals, housing, and general sanitation were the every day problems in the lives of *Sun* readers. They were of importance in the growing culture of a large city; and in Dana's paper they were presented dramatically, interestingly, humorously and unsparingly.

CHAPTER IX

"THE MUGWUMP MOSES"

THE Mugwumps have only one prophet, and he is stuffed, said the *Sun* in scrutinizing the record of Grover Cleveland.¹ But in 1884, the Independents who withdrew from the abyss of fraud into which our Civil War had plunged us were not afraid of ugly prophecies. "The self-elected Republican bosses of Democracy,"² Dana called them; but among the Mugwumps were men of principle and courage. George William Curtis, Henry Ward Beecher, Andrew D. White of Cornell, Charles W. Eliot of Harvard and Lawrence Godkin of the *Evening Post* and many more became the Mugwumps of the 'eighties who escorted Cleveland to the White House. If their candidate were "stuffed," he had proved the quality of stuffing by his record while governor of New York.

With the exception of Lincoln, Dana considered Chester A. Arthur the best Republican President between 1861 and 1897.³ But although his service had been dignified and honorable, political jealousy and business depression forbade his nomination for President in 1884.⁴ There was one sail toward which the Republican winds blew, James G. Blaine. A few days before the Chicago Republican convention the *Sun* expressed delight at the prospect of his nomination. And why not? All discerning Democrats might welcome such a blunder in the camp of their opponents. But although his past career was repellent to many Republicans, the convention early in June enthusiastically nominated him. *Sun* "notes on the platform" ran:

The Republican Party has not triumphed in six successive Presidential elections.

The Republican Party did not save the Union.

The Republican Party has not cared a continental for the elevation of labor.

The Republican Party has not responded, either quickly or tardily, to the demand of the people for purity in legislation.

¹ Mar. 18, 1891.

² Dec. 11, 1884.

³ May 21, 1884.

⁴ Muzzey, David S., James G. Blaine, 256-263.

Nor for integrity and accountability in all departments of the Government. The Republican Party is a fraud, and the same old platform lies are made to do service again this year of grace and hope.⁵

Thenceforth Blaine had a new title. He was "Jingo G. Blaine from Maine" and soon the "Mulligan Guards" were much in evidence. The *Sun* thought that Mulligan should be the Vice-Presidential nominee in place of John A. Logan. To give the ticket a loftier moral tone, the *Sun* proposed the slogan "Blaine and Booty": "These words burn through every inscription on their campaign banners, to the shame and mortification of honest and independent Republicans everywhere."⁶ When the Worcester *Spy* refused to bolt, the *Sun* remarked that "Our solemn contemporary . . . has left off making faces at Brother Blaine, fixes its sad gaze upon the main chance once more, and talks like a little man":

. . . Let the competent ears of all unterrified Republicans drink in its words; for through this Worcester telephone speaks the cracked voice of George Frisbie Hoar.

And this is his message: "Every Post Office in this State will be in the hands of Democrats next summer if we falter now." Could a more truly Republican rallying cry be devised? But it might be put into fewer words. It ought to read: "Keep the rascals in."

. . . The love of plunder is the great band which holds the Republican party together. . . . The nomination of Blaine has fired the hopes of all the enemies of honest government, the survivors of the gang which waxed fat under Grant, the wreckers of the Treasury under Hayes and Garfield, Star Routers, land thieves, pension thieves, all who have got rich or expect to get rich under Republican rule.⁷

The *Sun* was opposed to Blaine, "not alone on account of his character, but still more on account of his narrow, bigoted and sectional policy, which has been persisted in through a long series of years for ends purely partisan, thus arraying one part of the population of our country against the other."⁸ It called him a "sensational politician,"⁹ saying he believed that Americans needed a little stirring up. If elected, he would restore the Navy to its former strength and increase the

⁵ June 6, 1884.

⁶ July 20, 1884.

⁷ June 28, 1884.

⁸ Oct. 19, 1884.

⁹ June 7, 1884.

army to at least one hundred thousand men. If he did not plunge the country into terrible war, he would at least succeed in breaking off friendly relations with all the powers in the world before he had been in office one year:

He says himself that he is as harmless as a suckling dove, but you cannot always believe what Brother Blaine says . . . "we seek the conquest of peace" says Brother Blaine . . .

From what is known of him it is not unfair to guess that Brother Blaine's preferences as to the color of his foreign policy are like those of a fireman in regard to the hue of his favorite "machine." "I don't care a rap what color you paint the old tub as long as you paint her blood-red." ¹⁰

E. P. Mitchell said that Dana really loved Blaine.¹¹ It is possible that he did. Certainly he preferred the politician to the reformer. Nevertheless, the *Sun* declared that rather than support him it would "quit work, burn up our pen, and leave to other and perhaps rasher heads the . . . defense of popular self-government." ¹²

As for the Democrats, Samuel J. Tilden was no longer in the political picture. Two years earlier the *Sun* had announced his retirement, saying, "Henceforth, his interest in politics is that of a student and a philosopher. . . . In the volume that records the annals of the nineteenth century no page will bear any American name that is greater or brighter than that of Samuel J. Tilden." ¹³ Now Dana insisted that "although he has been spoken of in connection with the Presidency twenty times where any other man is only spoken of once," he would refuse.¹⁴ Tilden died in 1886 and with him passed from the annals of the *Sun* a friend whom Dana must have loved as deeply as he hated any enemy.

In 1883, the *Sun* carried on an animated campaign for the nomination of William S. Holman of Indiana, whose name has merited inclusion in historical reviews of this election.¹⁵ It praised him as the keeper of ancient and immortal principles of Democracy,¹⁶ and as an American much like Lincoln in the "integrity, fairness, firmness, as-

¹⁰ Aug 1, 1884.

¹¹ *Memoirs of an Editor*, 306.

¹² June 29, 1884.

¹³ Sept. 14, 1882.

¹⁴ Sept. 11, 1883.

¹⁵ Clark, Champ, *My Quarter Century of American Politics*, II, 56, mentions Dana's support of Holman.

¹⁶ Dec. 29, 1883.

tuteness, and patriotism of his character.”¹⁷ When contemporaries grew suspicious that the *Sun* was preparing the way for a dark horse Dana admitted the fact. When the *Times* asserted that “Holman was practically trained to death” by the *Sun*, it drew the retort: “Is Mr. Holman any less distinguished than he was before the *Sun* published to the people the history of his public services? . . . Has the *Sun* done any harm to him? Did it even injure his good looks when it published what was thought to be his portrait?”¹⁸ In December, 1883, the *Sun* had dropped his candidacy, explaining that “such a man as Holman ought not to be nominated to be defeated. For that use inferior timber will answer.”¹⁹

All who read the *Sun* knew whom it meant by “inferior timber.” While Cleveland was Governor of New York, the *Sun* had not spared scathing comments upon his obesity, dullness, and moral humbug. Newspapers charged that Dana felt personal spite because Cleveland had refused to appoint a friend of his to office. The *Sun* partially denied this:

Mr. Dana recommended the appointment of Mr. Franklin Bartlett, an accomplished lawyer of this city, to the office of which our contemporary speaks. So also, we believe, did all the Judges of the higher courts in New York and Brooklyn, except a few with whom Mr. Bartlett did not happen to be personally acquainted.

Subsequently the information reached Mr. Dana that the Governor-elect had expressed his willingness to make the appointment, unless someone applied for the place *who had greater political claim* than Mr. Bartlett.

We thought then, and we think now, that the standard thus announced was not such as should control a reform Governor in the administration of his office. We were disposed to think that we had probably elected a mere politician after all—a man who proposed to regard political claims rather than personal fitness. The idea was unpleasant, of course, but the facts forced it upon us, and we then knew nothing of the selection which Mr. Cleveland had actually made, or that it might not accord with our recommendation.

But if anybody supposes that the course of this newspaper toward the person who happens to be Governor of the State of New York could be changed or made more favorable than a fair and unbiased consideration of his public acts would warrant, by the appointment of any friend of ours or all our friends to office, he is woefully in error. This establishment is not subject to mortgage in that manner.²⁰

¹⁷ Sept. 14, 1883.

¹⁸ Feb. 16, 1884.

¹⁹ Dec. 29, 1883.

²⁰ Jan. 9, 1883.

If personal animosity did not actually determine Dana's attitude toward Cleveland, it is safe to conclude that it was at least a contributing factor. The fact that Cleveland was a reformer, admired by the Mugwumps, lowered him still further in Dana's estimation. The two men, each with his own faults and virtues, were of antagonistic temperaments. It may be impossible to justify Dana in his treatment of Cleveland, but it is easy to see how he was irritated by Cleveland's moral emphasis, serious intent, and inflexibility of purpose.

In January, 1883, the *Sun* labeled rumors of Cleveland's possible nomination "Nonsense Run Wild." It did not think the Democratic candidate should be selected by Half-Breed influence, or his nomination based upon the ignorance of the people.²¹ Besides, there was grave doubt whether a man who had refused to shrink at the Tiger's growls and taken no pains to placate the Irish, could carry New York State. But, said the *Sun*, "We hope to support the candidate of the Democracy when the time comes. Even a crank like Frank Hurd would be preferable to any Republican we can now think of."²²

The *Sun* believed that Thomas F. Bayard would be a far stronger candidate than Grover Cleveland in New York or elsewhere. "If quality is what we look for, Bayard is infinitely preferable; and if availability be the test, there is, in our judgment, a vast advantage in taking Bayard."²³ Another whom the *Sun* preferred to Cleveland was Roswell P. Flower. Though not "so handsome as our obese Governor," at least he was "sound in finance and in religion"²⁴ and would be likely to have as many New York delegates to the party's national convention. The *Sun's* first choice for the nomination was Samuel G. Randall.²⁵

In April, 1884, the *Sun* was aware that Cleveland's New York friends were moving with energy. It discussed at length the relation between the friends of Tilden and those of Cleveland, making it appear that there was political disharmony in the party.²⁶ It proved by various devices that Cleveland was not a Democrat and that it was not Tammany Hall alone which made up the opposition; "it does not even

²¹ Jan. 5, 1883.

²² May 1, 1884.

²³ June 18, 1884.

²⁴ May 14, 1884.

²⁵ Apr. 28, July 3, 1884.

²⁶ July 4, 1884.

represent one-half of it.”²⁷ This was all to no avail. In Chicago, Tammany’s opposition stimulated the Western delegates, and on July 12th the *Sun* was forced to admit: “Cleveland is It.” Although Dana had said that if either Cleveland or Flower were nominated, “The *Sun* would be devoted to securing his entire success.”²⁸ Nevertheless it was certain that Cleveland could not expect Dana’s support.

On the other hand, many Republicans deserted Blaine. *Harper’s Weekly* transferred its affections to Cleveland. The *Nation*, the *Evening Post*, the *Times*, the *Herald* and *Puck*, as well as a number of New England papers, now turned their backs on their own party. “Jingo Blaine” is a “corrupt politician,” who represents all the “political demoralization of a corrupted and debauched party,”²⁹ the *Sun* said; and for once the Mugwumps were in accord. *Harper’s Weekly* wrote: “The election of Grover Cleveland, who, as Governor of the State of New York, has evinced the executive qualities of a sagacious unpartisan statesman, would promise the objects for which the Republican party has contended.” The *Sun* scornfully replied:

The objects for which the Republican party has contended, are not, in our opinion, those which the Democracy is organized to promote, in our opinion an executive officer, elected as the representative of a party, has no right to be unpartisan. . . .

Every free government must depend for continuance upon the vigor and fidelity of the political parties in which its citizens are divided. . . . No public officer has any right to change his party and remain in office. A private citizen may change his political principles whenever he becomes convinced that they are unsound, and may leave his party; but not so a public officer.

Mr. Cleveland may be unsatisfactory as a Democrat, but Mr. Blaine is not an honest man.³⁰

The *Times*, with Mugwump enthusiasm, published a number of previously undiscovered Mulligan letters. The *Sun* immediately questioned their authenticity—not as a defense of the Republican candidate, but in defense of accurate journalism:

An examination of the *Record* suggested solely by a desire to ascertain the exact truth, and certainly with no purpose on our part to manufacture a defense for Mr. Blaine against the *Times* “important accusations,” satisfied us

²⁷ June 29, 1884.

²⁸ June 9, 1884.

²⁹ June 12, 1884.

³⁰ July 19, 1884; July 4, 1884.

that the "suppressed" Mulligan letters were all accounted for. A similar examination, we think, will satisfy any candid person that there is nothing in the *Times* charge. That newspaper has been misled into a wholly false position either by its bias against Blaine or by heedlessness which is simply amazing.⁸¹

The Springfield *Republican* justly remarked: "But what a spectacle to see the *Sun* trying to bleach the spots in Mr. Blaine's record!"⁸² Others, whom the *Sun* called "donkeys," took somewhat the same position. As the strength and zeal of the Mugwumps grew impressive, the *Sun* became more violent in its attacks upon Cleveland. The Galveston *Daily News* even suggested that "the Democratic National Committee should appoint a Commission to investigate Editor Dana's grievance against Grover Cleveland."⁸³

Unable to support either of the major parties, or Governor John P. St. John of Kansas, candidate of the Prohibitionists, the *Sun* turned to the recently defeated candidate for Governor in Massachusetts, Benjamin F. Butler. His career was notorious. He had engaged in corrupt deals during the Civil War and later advocated hanging Jefferson Davis and Lee as traitors. He believed God had removed Abraham Lincoln that the proper punishment might be administered to the authors of the rebellion. In vindictive speeches he urged the impeachment of Andrew Johnson. He had led the fight against good measures and men with such indefatigable energy that the term "Butlerism" was coined to express such a tendency.⁸⁴ As the *Sun* remarked in 1883, he was "not an ideal character by any means," but when it compared him with his opponents, Butler loomed up "like an antique hero in comparison."⁸⁵ Even before his nomination, the *Sun* had shown its inclination to support him. On May 30th, it said:

General Ben. Butler is one of the squarest men in the world and the freest from humbug. He is willing to be President, and he says so to everybody who asks him. He has opinions of his own, and he avows them like a man. Some of them are popular and some are not; but this makes no difference to Butler. For instance, he is in favor of a tariff which shall bestow special protection upon agricultural interests; and he likewise wants protection for American manufacturers.

⁸¹ Aug. 2, 1884.

⁸² June 15, 1884.

⁸³ Aug. 5, 1884.

⁸⁴ Oberholtzer, E. P., *History of the United States*, I, 395; 414; 461; Rhodes, James F., *History of the United States*, V, 312-313.

⁸⁵ Oct. 3, 1883.

He has been nominated by the anti-monopolists and the Greenbackers, but probably will not be nominated by the Democrats because he has too many enemies among them . . . and yet we here record our opinion that Butler would make a stronger candidate and a better President than several of the more orthodox and regular Democratic statesmen.

Although its edition fell about 69,000 in weekly circulation during the 1884 campaign and many more readers threatened to seek congenial opinions elsewhere, the *Sun* refused to be "bulldozed" ³⁶ into forsaking the odious Butler. It tried to appeal to the working classes by calling Cleveland a candidate who was "notoriously hostile to American labor":

This year [the Democratic Party] insulted every laboring man by naming as its candidate for President a man notoriously the foe of labor. Not only has Grover Cleveland never shown the slightest sympathy, but he has shown hatred for it, and has steadily opposed many measures for its relief that have come before him. . . . He is known to be in favor of measures which would only result in the disturbance of industry, and the impoverishment of labor.³⁷

Furthermore, it informed all laborers that a "vote for Cleveland is a vote for England" and appealed to prejudices against our "hereditary foe." ³⁸

Before the campaign had progressed far the personal life of each candidate was brought out for an airing. Accusations against Blaine were quickly denied and accepted as untrue by the *Sun*. But those against Cleveland were given more attention.³⁹ The Buffalo *Evening Telegraph* was first to print a story that Cleveland had had a son born out of wedlock to one Maria Halpin. The *Sun* at the beginning dismissed this, saying, "No accusations produced without legal proof after the nomination of a candidate are worth a copper; and the publication of such accusations is a scandal of itself." ⁴⁰ But, while the *Sun* continued to express hope that Cleveland would clear himself of all imputations, the tone of its editorials came to exceed all bounds of propriety. It spoke of a Presidential candidate proving himself a "coarse debauchee who might bring his harlots to Washington and hire lodgings for them convenient to the White House," and referred to animals

³⁶ July 26, 1884.

³⁷ Oct. 29, 30, 1884.

³⁸ Oct. 31, 1884.

³⁹ Sept. 9, 1884.

⁴⁰ July 25, 1884.

instead of men.⁴¹ When Cleveland himself admitted the story, it attacked the Mugwumps for daring to support a man revealed as "unworthy of regard, low in his associations, leprous with immorality, perfidious, whose name was loathsome in the nostrils of every virtuous woman and upright man who knew him."⁴² It published an affidavit which described the pitiful case of Maria Halpin.⁴³

The *Sun* also reprinted a report of the hanging of two murderers which Cleveland had performed while Sheriff, although a short time before it had denounced the *Herald* as "mean and base" for attempting to bring Cleveland into contempt "because he has at some time done some work that is despised by aristocrats"⁴⁴ When the *Chicago News* ventured that Cleveland had merely performed an obnoxious duty, the *Sun* replied, "Obnoxious! Not at all. He liked it. It gave him an opportunity of saving a few dollars. Besides, it was not his sworn duty. He did it from choice. Money is a great thing with a mean man."⁴⁵

Since the Republican and Democratic platforms were similar in respect to civil service reform and tariff,⁴⁶ the campaign was waged on the merits of the individuals whose duty it would be to put the reforms into effect. The *Sun* advised its readers to vote for Butler as the man best able to reform "the abuses of this long period of Republican rule," and to restore "simple, economical, and popular methods of Jefferson and Madison."⁴⁷

As the returns came in and the New York State vote was being determined the *Sun* variously analyzed the results. If Cleveland were elected he would owe his triumph to the Republicans—"the Democratic party has still to elect a candidate representing Democratic principles."⁴⁸ William H. Vanderbilt and Jay Gould had desired the election of Cleveland because they "put their money where they thought it would do the most good to them."⁴⁹ Six days before the election, a "Silurian or early Paleozoic bigot, the Rev. Samuel D. Burchard by name, completed the alliteration that swelled in his

⁴¹ Aug. 7, 1884.

⁴² Oct. 19, 1884.

⁴³ Oct. 31, 1884.

⁴⁴ July 17, 1884.

⁴⁵ Sept. 12, 1884.

⁴⁶ Rhodes VIII, 228.

⁴⁷ Sept. 27, 1884.

⁴⁸ Nov. 5, 1884.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

foolish mouth by presenting Mr. Blaine as the enemy of 'Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion!' " ⁵⁰ It was a handful of Stalwarts that did it. They remembered Blaine's assault upon Conkling and voted to make the account square.⁵¹ On November 8th, the *Sun* announced with certainty that it was the people who did it, "not because they like Cleveland," but because they believed he would be safer than Blaine. While many papers were asserting that Blaine had been elected, and fear was expressed least the return should be manipulated to his advantage, the *Sun* bulletin board bore the announcement that Cleveland had won.

Although the *Sun* considered Cleveland's inaugural speech neither original nor brilliant, it approved of the principles set forth: economy, retrenchment, reorganization and trenchant reform.⁵² The Cabinet was praised. The *Sun* declared Thomas F. Bayard, Secretary of State, a gentleman whose fitness no one could question. Daniel Manning was a man of judgment, moderation, dignity and power, whom the President was fortunate in securing for Secretary of the Treasury. Lucius Q. C. Lamar, a man of genius and the first Southerner in a high post since the Civil War, was welcomed by the *Sun* as Secretary of the Interior. The new Attorney-General, A. H. Garland, although objectionable because he was a "Federalist" rather than a "Jeffersonian," was an able lawyer. William C. Whitney, William E. Endicott, and William F. Vilas, appointed to head the Navy Department, War Department, and Post Office, were commendable. "This is a solid and competent cabinet," the *Sun* said.⁵³

The question of appointments soon obtruded itself, for the Independents were anxious that Cleveland conform to the principles of civil service reform. On the other hand, Democrats were eager for spoils. Whenever Cleveland made an appointment that met with the Mugwumps' approval, the *Sun* consoled with the Democrats; and whenever an appointment particularly pleased his party, it jeered at the Mugwumps. In June, 1885, the *Sun* stated:

The Independent Republicans have lost no opportunity to impress upon the President the necessity of trying their kind of reform. He on his part has perhaps not unnaturally wished to show that he is not unmindful of his obligation

⁵⁰ Nov. 7, 1884.

⁵¹ Nov. 8, 1884.

⁵² Mar. 4, 1885.

⁵³ Mar. 3, 1885.

to them. He has paid that obligation by the appointment of a few Republicans of acknowledged efficiency and inoffensive partisanship. But he has not forgotten that his paramount obligation is to the Democratic party, and that his obligation will not be satisfied till his Administration is all Democratic. Some discontent has been caused by the apparent slowness with which the displacement of Republican office holders was carried on, but, slow or fast, the work is getting done. Day by day, Republicans are going out and Democrats are coming in. If the President has at any time hesitated about his policy, the reflection of his own powerlessness without the Democracy at his back, has been enough to convince him which way he should go. The Independent Republicans are pleasant people, but there are not enough of them to induce him to follow them to his undoing.⁵⁴

Some accomplishments by the administration Dana sincerely approved, even if he were loath to give Cleveland credit for them. Among these was the reorganization and improvement of our "Roach-Robberson" Navy. Under Arthur, William E. Chandler had taken charge of the building of four ships which were left as a legacy to the Democrats. Although it was claimed the vessels surpassed every expectation, the new Secretary of the Navy appointed a commission of experts to investigate. The *Sun* said, "the exact truth in regard to the Dolphin's unseaworthiness, lack of speed, absurd design, and generally faulty construction which has been made clear to the country is due solely to Secretary Whitney's strong will and honest purpose."⁵⁵ Since the Navy was now in efficient hands, the *Sun* encouraged appropriations from Congress although for years past it had opposed going beyond "actual immediate requirements of the service." The *Sun* greeted new policies in regard to land grants, railroad privileges and Indian territories with as much pleasure as it did the exposure of past Republican frauds.

The *Sun's* praise of the administration caused derisive laughter among editors who could not believe that Dana was sincere. The Philadelphia *Record* remarked, "The *Sun* seems to shape its political course on the assumptions—both erroneous—that Mr. Cleveland has a very short memory and very long ears." The *Sun* replied, "Our highly esteemed contemporary, which speaks with such authority when it discusses the milking qualities of Holstein cows, sometimes falls into error when it branches out into more complicated subjects":

⁵⁴ June 3, 1885.

⁵⁵ June 18, 1885.

The *Sun* is an independent journal of Democratic principles, and its constant aim is to gain for those principles a greater hold upon the minds of the people. Mr. Cleveland is the temporary tenant of executive power, and the power is enormous. We shall treat him fairly and generously, and our criticism shall always be on the broad Democratic scale. Moreover, we hold it proper in every case to take the most favorable view of any public act either of the President or of any other executive officer who professes to be governed by Democratic ideas.⁵⁶

While Dana was forced to give Cleveland a grudging respect, there was a more malicious reason for the *Sun's* attitude. David B. Hill was running for Governor of New York State. The Mugwumps would have nothing to do with him, but Dana seemed to love Hill not only because he was Cleveland's political antagonist but because his machine methods disgusted the Mugwumps. To reconcile Cleveland Democrats to the State ticket, the *Sun* attempted to prove that both Tilden and the President favored Hill. It said, "Mr. Tilden's deliberate approval has been set upon the candidacy of Mr. Hill. His substantial token of good will, in the form of a handsome contribution to the needful expenses of the Democratic canvass, has been accompanied with words of esteem, of cheer, of confidence, which should be familiar in the mouths of the voters of the State next Tuesday."⁵⁷ To prove Cleveland's friendliness, it printed the following:

The President has contributed a thousand dollars to the Democratic State campaign fund.

The President is coming home to vote for David B. Hill.

Nevertheless, those who assume to be friends of the President insist that he does not favor Hill's election and that his interest would be promoted by Mr. Hill's defeat.

We prefer to judge Mr. Cleveland by his own acts.⁵⁸

The *Sun* looked upon Hill's success as a triumph.⁵⁹ It considered the victory an intimation to Federal and State executives of how the people wanted their government conducted.⁶⁰ The Mugwumps were inclined to feel that the President's policy would not undergo any change. But the *Sun* said, "We should not wonder if Mr. Cleveland,

⁵⁶ June 11, 1885.

⁵⁷ Oct. 31, 1885.

⁵⁸ Nov. 2, 1885.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Nov. 7, 1885.

coincidentally with the fall elections, had shed a part, at least, of his thin spring and summer coat of Mugwumpism."⁶¹

Allegations of fraud in the Attorney General's office gave Dana a weapon with which to openly attack the Administration. It was learned that Garland was promoting the Pan-Electric Company and, according to the *Sun*, a suit was begun in the name of the United States against the Bell Telephone Company to obtain priority rights to a patent. As a stockholder of Pan-Electric Garland would be made wealthy if it won its claim to the patent. Cleveland peremptorily revoked the suit when it was first put under way, but Secretary Lamar who took charge of the affair, decided that it should be pressed, giving point to the *Sun's* indignation. The *Sun* pointed out that Cox, Carlisle, and Hewitt, all Democratic Congressmen, had refused Pan-Electric stock, because "it was not consistent with their ideas of public duty to receive such a gift."⁶² The "fraud" was compared to that of the "Credit Mobilier," although Garland was later exonerated by a majority vote after a Congressional investigation. That Garland did not see fit to leave office aroused Dana's scorn:

If the Democracy is to be saved, the whole Pan-Electric gang and all Pan-Electric proceedings must be eliminated. Mr. Garland must go; he allowed the Department of Justice to be prostituted for his private advantage. Mr. Goode must go. Mr. Lamar must go. A number of other high officials must go; they are all deep in Pan-Electric stock books.⁶³

By August, 1886, "Public Office is a Public Trust" had become, "Public Office is a Pan-Electric trust."⁶⁴

Meanwhile the *Sun* had seized upon the controversy between the silver and gold forces in order to further disparage Cleveland. Dana explained the President's efforts to maintain the gold standard as the fanaticism of a superstitious worshiper of gold; while the steps which he took with Secretary of the Treasury Manning to avert panic earned him the title of "alarmist." When the tariff question was introduced, the *Sun* was delighted at every indication that Cleveland was a free trader. In reality Dana was far more sympathetic with the Randall high tariff faction than with Carlisle and Cleveland. On this

⁶¹ Nov. 8, 1885.

⁶² Feb 4, 1886.

⁶³ Feb. 11, 1886.

⁶⁴ Aug. 16, 1886.

issue the *Sun* could attack Cleveland without hypocrisy.

It was known the President would deal with tariff in his annual message of 1887. Cleveland had previously declared that "such of our citizens as have built up large and important industries under present conditions should not be suddenly and to their injury deprived of advantages to which they have adopted their business." The *Sun* replied, "The only difference between that proposition and the doctrine of the avowed and uncompromising free traders was that it counseled sufficient patience to let the great tariff industries of the present sink out of existence slowly instead of cutting their throats on the spot."⁶⁵ Cleveland's message of 1887 was called a "Turning Point" and described in the *Sun* as "the most remarkable and in some respects the most important document that he had produced since his political career began." Enumerating its salient points, the *Sun* said that the President had estimated the enormous surplus to be accumulated at the end of the fiscal year, and had urged Congress to reduce taxation "to the necessary expenses of an economic administration of the Government." "Mr. Cleveland's advice—square and short—is that in attempting this reduction Congress should let the internal taxes alone and make the whole reduction by cutting down the customs tariff."⁶⁶ The *Sun* exultantly noted that this seemed to give the Republicans "exactly the issue which they have been striving to obtain and have maneuvered for during the past two years; on this issue they are confident of winning the great struggle of next year."⁶⁷

Since the President had previously stated that he was opposed to a second term, Dana assumed that he did not wish the nomination. If he accepted it, the *Sun* said, he will reveal himself as either "the most conceited politician of the century, or the most selfishly ambitious."⁶⁸ When Cleveland's admirers answered that a longer time was necessary to accomplish the aims of the Administration, the *Sun* jeered: "Four years of office and the work for which he was elected only half done! What an insulting suggestion."⁶⁹

In the Presidential campaign of 1888 the *Sun* pretended to support the "united Democracy" and Cleveland, but Dana devoted his efforts to

⁶⁵ Dec. 4, 1887.

⁶⁶ Dec. 7, 1887.

⁶⁷ Dec. 11, 1887.

⁶⁸ Feb. 9, 1888.

⁶⁹ Feb. 11, 1888.

the nomination and to the election of Hill—if possible to the Presidency, if not, to the Governorship of New York. In April the *Sun* remarked, "as the fact becomes more clearly understood that Gov. Hill is steadily becoming more prominent as a possible nominee of the national Democracy for the next election, the Republican and Mugwump organs are getting their batteries ready." ⁷⁰ But the hope that Hill might receive the nomination for President was dispelled when the State Convention met and agreed to present Cleveland as the candidate of the Empire State.

This meant that Hill would undoubtedly run again for Governor. Curiously enough the *Sun*, perhaps Hill's most conspicuous ally, did not appear to welcome the possibility, for in August it tactfully pointed the way for another candidate saying, "A great number of respectable gentlemen of the Democratic faith are looking to William C. Whitney as the man for whom they expect to vote for governor, provided Governor Hill should decide to retire." ^{70a}

But even before the State convention met the *Sun* was concentrating its energies upon his renomination, insisting it would strengthen the National Democratic ticket. "Why are you in favor of it then?" the *Times* inquired. "Jones, This is Why," the *Sun* replied after the nomination was made: "The one man manifestly commissioned by political destiny to save the battle was David Bennet Hill. Nobody but a born fool or a Jones-Godkin Mugwump could by any conceivable fault of vision fail to perceive that fact."

"Hill is as sound as steel and as true as gold. His manly declarations that the friends of Hill are also the friends of Cleveland in this fight, his ringing reminder to the country that the Democracy of New York stands united and indivisible, shows that the party made no mistake in choosing its standard bearer. Hill brings to Cleveland ten times as many votes as the *Times* and the *Post* and their dupes can succeed in turning away to Miller and Harrison.

"And yet this is just the result that both Mr. George Jones of the *Times* and Mr. 'Larry' Godkin of the *Evening Post* have done their feeble utmost to prevent. They hate Gov. Hill with all the hatred of sneaks who have lied about an honest man persistently and unavailingly. They would beat him if they could even if Cleveland went to the dogs. The knife is in Jones's hands, ready to strike down Cleveland in order to get at Hill's back." ^{70b}

⁷⁰ Apr. 13, 1888.

^{70a} Aug. 28, 1888.

^{70b} Sept. 19, 1888.

While the *Sun* pursued its two-faced policy, the Republicans were polishing their weapons. Blaine wrote from abroad that he would not be their candidate. The *Sun's* comment contained an insinuation against Cleveland. Blaine, it said, "possesses an elevation of ambition and patriotic devotion to his party which forbids him to subject it to the risk of defeat for the mere purpose of a personal gratification for himself."⁷¹ The nomination finally went to Benjamin Harrison. He was a man with neither the moral strength of Cleveland nor the magnetism of Blaine, and yet a "gentleman" of whom the *Sun* said, "no one need believe that he is an insignificant politician."⁷² The Republican candidate asked that personalities be avoided and himself emphasized the issue of protection.

When the New Haven *Register* called its support of Cleveland "neither sincere nor earnest," the *Sun*, not in the least perturbed, replied under the caption "The One Reason Why":

If the *Sun* does not like Mr. Cleveland personally it is simply in the same state of mind as every prominent Democrat and every sensible Democratic newspaper in the country.

Mr. Cleveland lives in the peculiar situation of not having in all this broad land one single devoted, earnest, cordial, personal friend. There is not one man who can truly and comprehensively say that he likes Mr. Cleveland. Such is the effect of the President's personal character and manners upon those who come in contact with him; and those who come in closest contact with him are those who like him least.

Why is it since nobody likes Mr. Cleveland personally that all Democrats support him? Why is it that the *Sun* supports him? The reason is plain and no one can give any other reason. He is the candidate of the Democracy, nominated unanimously. That is why we advocate his election, and nobody has any other reason for advocating it.⁷³

On the strength of this "one reason" the *Sun* implored Butler "to vote for Cleveland and Thurman in spite of their free trade platform," declaring, "The fight over free trade and protection is of the passing hour, and Butler has the right side of it; but Democracy will remain when that fight is forgotten. Let him come with us and join the ranks of Democracy."⁷⁴ It exhorted recalcitrant Democrats to "Stand by

⁷¹ Feb. 14, 1888; see also Feb. 18, 1888.

⁷² June 26, 1888.

⁷³ Oct. 10, 1888.

⁷⁴ Sept. 7, 1888.

the Democracy" regardless of the tariff issue: "Vote for protectionist members of Congress. Rebuke the errors of the Democracy in that way if you think it . . . is your duty. But don't go over to the Republicans." ⁷⁵

It was difficult to know from the *Sun* editorials exactly what position the Democrats took on the tariff. At times their platform was labelled "free trade," at others, a masterpiece of "political attraction to the protectionists, a work of extraordinary astuteness, constructed with such marvelous ingenuity that every faction can claim it as its own." ⁷⁶ Cleveland, likewise, was presented either as a free trader or a protectionist depending upon the *Sun's* mood. The party, if not its leader, was said to be the victim of a few "cranks" and "professors" who made their living spreading free trade propaganda. ⁷⁷ Not only would they lead their party to defeat in 1888, but, the *Sun* predicted, "they are perfectly willing to lead it to defeat again":

. . . they are perfectly willing to keep on educating public sentiment with a view to free trade in 1892 and if not in 1892, then in 1896 or 1900. They are the fellows that defeat does not discourage, rebuke does not disconcert, annihilation does not silence.

The Democracy has other work ahead than the education of public sentiment toward free trade. The tariff question gets a hearing only in the total absence of issues that fill the imagination and stir the soul. There will be sterner work for the Democratic opposition for the next four years. ⁷⁸

It is difficult not to believe that Dana rejoiced over the defeat of Cleveland. It was accomplished by Democratic mismanagement, Republican energy, the activity of business interests dependent on the tariff, the British bugaboo, and the candidacy of Hill in New York. But the *Sun* declared that the "architects of Democratic disaster" were Cleveland and his free traders. Under a heading "The Democratic Defeat-Courage," the *Sun* said:

When a party deliberately buries out of sight the principles on which it was founded, and of which it has been the custodian for a century; when it sends some of its best men to the rear; when it surrenders the management of its affairs to a syndicate of cracked intellects and theorists-enthusiasts with just

⁷⁵ Aug 6, 1888.

⁷⁶ June 16, 1888.

⁷⁷ Aug 17, 1888.

⁷⁸ Nov. 9, 1888.

enough shrewdness to half disguise their ultimate purpose; when it abandons politics in the same sense, and makes itself an engine for the propagation of a theory—in short, when it goes in for an educational canvass, somebody is bound to be educated.

This is what happened yesterday.

The great mass of the Democracy, sound to the core, loyal as ever to the essential and eternal truths of its creed, is the victim of the educational campaign. It has been educated with a vengeance and at a tremendous cost.⁷⁹

After the election, with the support of the Democracy no longer at stake, Dana seemed to feel more free to criticize Cleveland. "The people of New York have shown their contempt for Mugwumpery in a very emphatic way," the *Sun* said: "whom Mugwumps supported they have rejected, and whom the Mugwumps reviled they have honored."⁸⁰ It published a few lines entitled, "A New Song":

What's the matter with the Democracy?

It's beaten.

Who beat it?

Grover Cleveland.⁸¹

The *Sun* kept a careful watch upon Cleveland's activities from the moment he left the White House. Even before this, it had accused him of using his official authority to promote a land speculation in that part of Washington in which he owned property.⁸² The *Sun* maintained over and over that the Empire State could never again be induced to give its support to Cleveland, and that without New York he could not receive the Democratic nomination in 1892:

The New York Democrats have tried Cleveland and do not want to have any more of him. The Democracy would now be stronger, more united and more aggressive if his Administration had never been. His empty pretensions, his superficial and narrow abilities, his vast ignorance, his perpetual cant, his almost inconceivable political principle, can never recommend him to the Democracy of New York.⁸³

With the Democratic party led by Hill and the Republican party by Platt, Dana delighted in the predicament of New York reformers.

⁷⁹ Nov. 7, 1888.

⁸⁰ Nov. 8, 1888.

⁸¹ Nov. 13, 1888.

⁸² Feb. 22, 1889.

⁸³ June 21, 1889.

From the point of view of the Mugwumps, "the choice as between the two party leaders is a hard one. In fact there is no choice." The frequency of the *Sun's* attacks upon the Mugwumps from 1889 to 1892 suggests that in spite of its contempt, Dana regarded them a deciding factor in the success or defeat of Cleveland or Hill. Also it could use them as a butt for its wit. The following is an example of the *Sun's* levity:

Mugwump's Disease—that strange and distressing mental malady which makes its victims see in the obese and by no means prepossessing figure of the Claimant the quintessence of physical, intellectual, and moral perfection.

As Malebrace saw everything in God, so the victim of Mugwump's Disease sees everything in the Claimant.

If he announces with his oracular ponderosity that two and two make four, the Mugwump eyes bulge with admiration and the Mugwump knees are loosened in reverential awe. "What a great mind!" say the sick men, hot with their hallucinations. "What an acute mathematician! Not Newton, Leibnitz, or Laplace has ever enriched science with so mighty a discovery."

Worst of all, the disease seems to be incurable. Its progress is rapid, and the acute, chronic, and the helpless stage is quickly reached.⁸⁴

It was evident in April, 1890, that the tariff and surplus would provide issues for the fall Congressional elections. The *Sun* was inspired by a "vision of Tissue Reform" and suggested a ticket, headed by Cleveland and Ernest Schwenger, "the genius who cured Prince Bismarck of pernicious obesity," together on a platform: "Reduce the Surplus."⁸⁵ In September, it advised people to stop talking about the tariff, for the subject had "grown stale, flat and unprofitable."⁸⁶ The *Sun* published two letters of Cleveland's, one on the tariff and the other to the Capital Laundry, complimenting it on its service. Of the two, it said, the latter was much more logical, straightforward and manly. It suggested that the "Stuffed Prophet" should write more on the laundry question and less on tariff reform."⁸⁷

Between the McKinley tariff and the Silver Purchase Act, which had merely whetted the craving for unlimited silver coinage, the *Sun* believed that "no political schemer was ever confronted with a more distressing dilemma" than Cleveland:

⁸⁴ Nov. 26, 1890.

⁸⁵ Apr. 14, 1890.

⁸⁶ Sept. 30, 1890.

⁸⁷ Sept. 9, 1891.

The currency issue both underlies and overlaps the tariff issue. In its far-reaching consequences upon the personal fortunes of every voter in the United States, the settlement of this question, one way or another is incalculably more important than any readjustment of customs duties or any revision of tariff schedules that can be possible for the next ten years.⁸⁸

Nor would Cleveland be able to dodge the issue, as his Free Trade friends would like him to do, for the sake of his own political future. He had already committed himself "distinctly and irrevocably" against the further coinage of silver in his letter of February 24, 1885. Therefore, if "he swallows his own words for the sake of votes at the South and West, he will become at once the object of abuse and opposition from the mouths and pens of the very Mugwumps who are at present so useful to him as his devoutest worshippers and noisiest supporters."⁸⁹ To help him out of his dilemma the Free Traders were constructing a silver toboggan, "down which it is hoped their Prophet can slip without knocking the stuffing out of him, safely into the Democratic camp":

. . . The start waits only on his bid for the nomination by a retraction of his silver sentiments, with a satisfactory statement of their revolution, and a gasteropodous adoration of the new light.

It should come pretty soon. If Mr. Cleveland would continue his disturbance of Democratic progress he must change his coat, or his sole upholders, the Free Traders, will drop him. . . . The upset cannot be executed too quickly.⁹⁰

The *Sun* was jubilant over the prospect that Cleveland would tumble off the toboggan slide. At one time it was reminding the country of his former declaration against the Bland-Allison law; at another rejoicing that the silver question had made "impossible the election by a Democratic National Convention of a candidate opposed to silver";⁹¹ and at all times convinced—that if Cleveland ever broke his "masterly silence" on the silver controversy it would be "to further his personal ambition."

In February Cleveland wrote his most famous anti-silver letter. It was as straight to the point as that of 1885, leaving no doubt that he was unalterably opposed to the further purchase and coinage of silver.

⁸⁸ Jan. 9, 1891.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Dec. 5, 1890.

⁹¹ Jan. 16, 1891.

The *Sun* entitled it, "Stuffed Prophecies Concerning Silver," and attempted to prove that he was hedging:

The peril, then, in Mr. Cleveland's present view, is not in a liberal extension of the silver currency for "we have demonstrated the usefulness of such an increase." It is in "free, unlimited, and independent silver coinage" that he sniffs disaster.

Who demonstrated the usefulness of such an increase? In his letter just after election and at a time when Mr. Cleveland had nothing to gain by dissimulation or mendacity, he declared his opinion that nothing could avert a tremendous and universal disaster except the absolute suspension of the purchase and coinage of silver.

True to the last to his destiny, Grover Cleveland dares only to be a stuffed Daniel on the Silver question.⁹²

The incident had focused attention upon the 1892 campaign. The *Sun* said, "the silver question leaves the Democracy substantially united. The Republican party, on the other hand, is divided by what may prove to be a very serious division."⁹³ The second statement was true; the first was anything but accurate. In New York the lines between the Hill and Cleveland factions were drawn more tightly than ever after the second silver letter.⁹⁴

When in January, 1891, it was rumored that Governor Hill wanted to become a Senator, the *Sun* was at first opposed, fearing that it would prevent him from becoming President. But when Hill exhibited firmness in his intention, Dana loyally came to his side, still determined not to "withhold any exertion" to make him the Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1892.⁹⁵ Meanwhile Cleveland was aroused by Hill's maneuvering and determined to come out against him. By January, 1892, all knew that it would be Cleveland or Hill against the Republican candidate. In April, the *Sun* published a warning:

In 1888 the Democratic party went crazy for tariff reform, and trotted into the mud behind the elephantine economist of the Mugwumps. Licking No. 1.

In 1891 the Ohio Democrats, sticking to the same old tariff reforms as propounded by the same old corpulent Cobden, became unprotected mats for Major William McKinley, Jr., and their Republican party to wipe their feet on.

⁹² Feb. 13, 1891.

⁹³ Jan. 16, 1891.

⁹⁴ Nevins, Allan, *Cleveland*, 476-479.

⁹⁵ Jan. 22, 1891.

Licking No. 2.

In 1892 the Rhode Island Democrats took up the same old howl and fight for the same old tariff reform and the same old sarcotic dervish. Licking No. 3

Hasn't the Democratic party had enough of this sort of thing? The sarcotic dervish is whirling to the empty houses. Is it impolite to suggest that tariff reform, too, has not been what the managers of theatres call a drawing attraction?

It will pay the Democratic party to throw away its season ticket to defeat."⁹⁶

In May the *Sun* reported Harrison's "brilliant raid into the heart of the enemy's country" as it followed his campaign journey across Pennsylvania and into Western New York:

His speeches to wayside crowds have been exceedingly happy in point of conception and expression. They maintain the high standard of rear-platform oratory established by Gen. Harrison during former electioneering tours. Nothing could be further from the cyclopedia pattern, and nothing could be sweeter in their way than these little compounds of patriotic sentiment, good, earnest, and moral citizenship, lovely appreciation, and personal simplicity and friendliness, all stewed in syrup. The general has served them out from an apparently inexhaustible stock in reserve, always fresh, always varied, never cloying to the appetite.

It is a singular psychological quality that enables this gentleman, who cannot discourse privately to an audience of one, two, or half a dozen individuals without chilling their very gizzards, and who is not strong in rhetoric addressed to great and important audiences, to charm the hearts of such citizens as gather by scores of hundreds at country railroad stations to see the second-term train go by!⁹⁷

The Republican National Convention assembled on June 7th at Minneapolis. The *Sun* warned them that whatever the merits of Harrison, "his popularity is of such a peculiar reserved sort that he may be said to help most the side which he is not on."⁹⁸ Although many influential Republicans agreed, their hostility was suppressed for political reasons. The *Sun* described Harrison's nomination as the result of his own persistent seeking and use of official influence.⁹⁹ While the Minneapolis Convention was in session, it noted that New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio had voted against Harrison's renomination, as well as the silver states, now shaken in their allegiance to the Republicans. "Federal officeholders may nominate, but they cannot elect Presidents

⁹⁶ Apr. 10, 1892.

⁹⁷ May 31, 1892.

⁹⁸ May 16, 1892.

⁹⁹ June 11, 1892.

of the United States. The Democrats know that!" It was generally conceded a good year for a Democratic success.

In New York State, the attempt to send a solid delegation in favor of Hill to the Democratic National Convention aroused the Mugwumps. No sooner had the machine men met and declared Hill their candidate than the "anti-snappers" began preparations to send a delegation of their own. Although it could not be officially credited, it would argue well for the sentiment in New York State. The early or "snap" convention was a political blunder on the part of Hill, but Dana supported it without stint. Reporting that the "Skulker of 1890" was "shamelessly favoring the Mugwump attack upon the regular Democracy" and thus upon Hill, the *Sun* asserted that this display of indignation was nothing more than "a last attempt to rally the faithful around the colossal convexity of Grover Cleveland."¹⁰⁰ Although Hill's candidacy was doomed to failure, the *Sun* continued to sing his praises. Not until the National Convention made its decision did the *Sun* again start its journey through the devious paths which it had pursued while supporting the Democracy under Cleveland.

Is it not strange that Dana, essentially antagonistic to the Democratic doctrines upon the tariff and silver questions, and bitterly detesting Cleveland, should have supported the party? But the *Sun* was never daunted by inconsistencies; and to explain its apparently inexplicable stand seized upon the Force Bill. This measure was advocated by Republicans determined to secure the Negro vote. According to Henry Cabot Lodge, it was "intended to guard Congressional elections in every part of the country where it may be demanded."¹⁰¹ The bill passed the House but was stopped in the Senate. While the attempt to secure the complete political emancipation of the Negro had some theoretical justice, the manner in which the bill was pressed aroused sectional and racial passions. Chagrin lingered in the hearts of Southern veterans, and suspicion of former "rebels" in the North. Cleveland had been unable to return the Southern battle-flags when Adjutant-General Richard C. Drum proposed the step. At that time, the *Sun* quoted General Fairchild of Wisconsin as saying, "May God palsy the hand that wrote that order! And may God palsy the brain that conceived it, and may God palsy the tongue that dictated it!!" When

¹⁰⁰ Feb. 22, 1892.

¹⁰¹ Rhodes VIII, 360.

the order was revoked Dana said spitefully, "Mr. Cleveland did right to pause and abate somewhat of his habitual obstinacy as he considered these things."¹⁰²

The Democratic party had inserted a plank in its platform condemning the Force Bill. And now the *Sun* took the side of the South, which in this instance was identical with the side of the Democrats. "No force bill! No Negro domination!" it trumpeted: "Better vote for the liberty and the white government of the Southern States, even if the candidate were the Devil himself, rather than consent to the election of respectable Benjamin Harrison with a Force Bill in his pocket."¹⁰³

In its anxiety to secure the election of Cleveland, the *Sun* now denied that he was a "Stuffed Prophet." "There is no stuffed prophet; while the Force Bill and Negro Domination threaten nothing else is to be thought of."¹⁰⁴ The other problems to be determined were of deepest interest to the American people, but the *Sun* practically ignored them.

In the West and South, the Populist party, derisively called "some people's party" in the *Sun*, was gaining momentum. This group, representing dissatisfied workers and farmers, demanded the unlimited coinage of silver, a graduated income tax, postal savings banks and governmental ownership of railroads, telephones and telegraphs.¹⁰⁵ In July, 1892, they met in Omaha and nominated James B. Weaver of Iowa for President. Weaver described the party as an "awakened" people, who came forth with the mission "to restore to our Government its original function, that of securing to all of its citizens, the weak as well as the mighty, the unmolested enjoyment of their inalienable rights."¹⁰⁶ Under the title, "The Third Party a Force Bill Party," Dana declared: "No white Southerner can vote the third party ticket in November without voting for a Force Bill. . . . If he has made up his mind to betray to that extent the welfare of his own people, he might as well deposit in the ballot box a vote for Harrison and Reed."¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² June 17, 1887.

¹⁰³ June 24, 1892.

¹⁰⁴ July 9, 1892.

¹⁰⁵ Rhodes VIII, 385.

¹⁰⁶ Nov. 20, 1892.

¹⁰⁷ Oct. 8, 1892.

Various factors contributed to the extraordinary victory of the Democrats in 1892. The labor agitation, dissatisfaction with the Harrison administration, and even the Populist movement had drawn votes from the Republicans in the West.¹⁰⁸ The *Sun* attributed the great triumph to David Bennett Hill, the Force Bill, and by indirection to itself. In reality the nomination of Cleveland had left Hill dispirited and rebellious, while many Tammany men were openly hostile. Forced eventually to support Cleveland or repudiate his party, Hill chose the former, declaring he was still a Democrat.¹⁰⁹ At first Dana gave him much credit. Later he maintained that "The central and decisive cause of the Democratic victory in the South, in New York and in Connecticut was the Force Bill. It was the Force Bill that prevented a division of the Democracy into hostile economic wings, unified it, and carried it to glorious success."¹¹⁰

By implication the *Sun* belittled the service rendered by the Democratic candidate in the election by labeling it "Grover Cleveland's Luck":

Let none of the fools who, through some mysterious purpose of Providence, conduct so many of our unimportant newspapers, imagine that the above heading contains anything of criticism respecting Mr. Cleveland. All problems that might give occasion for doubt or fault finding have been solved. The man who has twice been elected President of the United States, as he has, cannot be considered as an ordinary person; and yet no one can deny that whatever his other qualifications may be, his luck is something unusual, portentous, supreme, but the greatest point of luck discerned in his extraordinary career is only now dawning upon the horizon, and has not yet made itself visible to the masses of men.¹¹¹

Of the cabinet members chosen by the new President, Dana was most delighted with Hoke Smith, Secretary of the Interior. The reason lay in his obscurity and the euphonious sound made by pronouncing his name rapidly: "Hoax Myth." The *Sun* pretended to believe that there was no such individual. "Now suppose," it said, "Mr. Cleveland had decided to give Fake Yarn a place in his cabinet."¹¹² In reality

¹⁰⁸ Nevins, 506.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 498.

¹¹⁰ Dec. 6, 1892.

¹¹¹ Feb. 28, 1893.

¹¹² Mar. 3, 1893.

Secretary Smith was an able Cabinet officer and filled his position faithfully,¹¹³ but the editorial page of the *Sun* could not resist its own joke.

A similar sarcasm was spent upon lesser appointees. The choice of James B. Eustis for Minister to France was heralded as "A Spoilsman Sent to Paris." Since he had been a merciless critic of Cleveland's first administration, the *Sun* thought the President had shown "rare magnanimity of admitting his own mistakes."¹¹⁴ It greeted the appointment of the somewhat pompous Thomas F. Bayard as "Ambassador of the United States to the Court of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and the Empress of India." It suggested that the salaries of these men be increased immediately."¹¹⁵ When some of Cleveland's more political appointments disappointed the Mugwumps, the *Sun* was delighted and reproved Godkin for his criticism:

"Public office is a public trust" has given place to the "trough" idea, says the *Post*. Public office is a public trough for the Democrats, and the Mugwump pretensions of the late Mugwump idol have been flipped out. . . .

Mr. Cleveland's schooldays are over. He is a graduate and a Democrat.¹¹⁶

The nature of the emasculated Wilson Tariff Bill and its provision for an income tax gave Dana two open avenues through which to direct his editorial wrath. In speaking of it, the *Sun* appealed to emotions rather than logic. A similar treatment was given to the appearance of Coxey's army, which marched across the country to demand that an issue of five hundred million dollars in Treasury notes be given to the unemployed for improving the highway. A correspondent from Massillon asked the *Sun* to apply serious criticism to the purpose of this movement. It replied that "A City that has seen the Wilson Bill and the Income Tax Bill is not to be disturbed by an incursion of common cranks."¹¹⁷ The *Sun* maintained that Cleveland was responsible for the ideas of Coxey and his followers: They were but the pupils of the master who had taught them the few should be taxed for the benefit of the many; they had heard of the

¹¹³ Nevins, 514.

¹¹⁴ Mar. 22, 1893.

¹¹⁵ Mar. 31, 1893.

¹¹⁶ Nov. 3, 1893.

¹¹⁷ Mar. 16, 1894.

income tax of the Cleveland Commonweal and came on expecting to be helped. Dana suggested that the President prepare a special message proposing for the relief of tramps "a small tax upon corporations and estates having a net annual income of more than \$4,000." It said, "We are surprised to see the master snubbing the scholar. The Coxey movement is perhaps the greatest compliment that has ever been paid to Mr. Cleveland's economic and political wisdom."¹¹⁸ If this were his greatest compliment, it proved a fiasco. Coxey's army arrived with its number greatly depleted and was arrested in Washington for minor offenses.

All such disturbances were laid at the door of the President. Although E. P. Mitchell claims that Dana's attitude toward Cleveland changed to admiration,¹¹⁹ *Sun* editorials convince one that this was wishful thinking on the part of Mitchell whose admiration of Cleveland was genuine.

When the great Pullman Strike of 1894 occurred, something stronger than dislike of Cleveland directed the *Sun's* editorial policy. As in the Venezuela dispute, its editorials vibrated with patriotic intensity. Dana called upon all Americans to sustain the President and rally around the flag. This seemed somewhat unnecessary when Attorney-General Olney had procured the necessary injunctions and the President had ordered troops to Chicago. Calm discussion and accurate reporting might have served to quiet the passions of the nation and to secure greater justice.

In a small town near Chicago, workers of the Pullman Palace Car Company were subsisting on starvation wages. A series of cuts had reduced their pay while company-house rents remained the same. Although the workers were afraid of their employers, they were goaded into asking that either rents be reduced or wages increased. Three of the deputation that asked for relief were discharged and as a result a large number of employees registered their indignation in strike. The faithful were thereupon laid off and the company closed shop.

Under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs, the American Railway Union came to the defense of the strikers. In answer to the company's refusal to arbitrate, a strike was scheduled against all Pullman cars

¹¹⁸ May 1, 1894.

¹¹⁹ *Memoirs of an Editor*, 333; 327-334.

and went into effect on June 26th. It was not until it appeared that the strike might be successful that the *Sun* gave it editorial prominence under the caption: The Public Be Damned!

The facts in the American Railway Union's tie up of all roads desiring to continue their sleeping-car service are as simple to understand as a child could wish; and there is one feature in this contest which, we believe, has never in a like degree distinguished any other.

The Pullman Company and its employees disagreed on wages, the former saying that, on account of the lack of orders, they could not keep the shops open unless at reduced wages. The employees replied that this proposition was not acceptable, and they refused to work on the proposed terms. Thereupon the Pullman shops were closed. The Pullman Company ceased to work, and that completes the record of events in Pullman.

What happens? At the request of the former employees of Pullman the new railway trade union takes all the roads it can lay its hands on by the throat, and deprives the public, no matter how numerous or remote, of the use of sleeping cars—a use practically amounting to a necessity—not with the primary purpose of compelling the Pullman Company to pay their employees more wages, or to substitute its striking employees for others taken in their places, but to force the company to go to work!

The Pullman Company desires temporarily to go out of business, to take a vacation; but it must be compelled, says the Railway Union, to labor against its will. The principle that when a man, desiring not to do work which is disagreeable to him, could not be driven to labor against his will, either by the lash of a slave-driver on his back or by the duress of law inflicted upon his person, has never been denied before. In a free country so long as any one did not break the common rules of society, he has retained the right to make of his life what he could and to enjoy the blessings of liberty.

Now, however, this principle is repudiated by the Railway Union, and the reverse of it is made to stand out so clear and naked that a man can read it running. Never has there been a strike more offensive in its underlying spirit than this tie up of sleeping cars. Its principle is so intolerable to any citizen who can spare a moment for a calm examination of it, that proving the Pullman Company the worst set of devils in existence could not impair its demerits.

So far as the public is concerned in this impossible crusade, the members of the American Railway Union have been led by the unprincipled and senseless chiefs who have gained their confidence into an attitude which bluntly and without compromise says, "Let the public be damned!" ¹²⁰

In the course of time the *Sun* made a number of different assumptions and explanations in regard to the strike. It first declared that the workers were not striking to compel the company to pay their employees more wages, but to force the company to open its shops. Later

¹²⁰ June 29, 1894.

it contended that the strike represented an organized attempt by the Union to assert its power and to take over the control of railroads and all public means of travel. Claiming that the "Hellhounds of Anarchy" were maliciously interfering with transportation, not to gain the desired wage, but eventually to set themselves up as dictators the *Sun* declared:

He [Debs] has hoisted a new flag, the flag of the American Railway Union, and while Debs' flag is aloft the flag of the American Union has to come down. The Debs' flag will come down permanently when the people who smiled at Coxe, and finally all members of trade unions, come to see that the American Railway Union is an effort organized on an unprecedented scale and with absolute clearness of aim against the law and against all established public interest and conveniences. It is the American Railway Union against the country.¹²¹

A third stand taken by the *Sun* was a perversion of truth and lends itself to a correct evaluation of Dana's attitude. The Corporation held undivided surplus profits of about twenty-five millions, and with a capital of thirty-six millions had distributed over two and a half millions in dividends during 1893.¹²² The *Sun* maintained that since "Pullman has solemnly declared that the last car contract carried out by him involved a loss," the strikers had no right to force the company to continue work.¹²³ A paper adept at ferreting out private correspondence, letters from presidents to their laundries, and the inside story of every fraud and scandal, must have known the actual profits of such a wealthy and well-known organization as the Pullman Company. Laffan, who was not only in the confidence of many millionaires but was himself intensely interested in railroad operation, certainly knew this if Dana did not.

With far less enthusiasm the *Sun* sustained the President in the Armor Plate controversy. After making an investigation of frauds alleged to have been practiced by Carnegie, Phipps and Company, Cleveland lowered the fine levied upon them. He did this because he believed fraud had been the result of poor management rather than intent on the part of the company. While complimenting Cleveland, Dana appears to have had more faith in Carnegie:

¹²¹ July 3, 1894.

¹²² Nevins, 611

¹²³ July 10, 1894.

A plausible theory which would make the heads of the Carnegie Company accomplices in the production of inferior goods, with the poorest prospect of not being found out, is beyond our ability to imagine. . . . It cannot be that a concern of this sort could be run on principles of fraud, particularly when dealing with such a hard driving customer as the Government of the United States.¹²⁴

The fear that Cleveland might desire a third term consumed Dana. Through February and March of 1896 the *Sun* frequently demanded that the President state that he was not going to be a candidate. Although it said that Cleveland would have no chance whatsoever to receive the nomination, it believed he cherished the "vainglorious idea that he was worthy of distinction beyond Washington, beyond Jefferson, beyond Andrew Jackson and that it is his intention to bring about his own nomination for a third term, if the thing can be done."¹²⁵ When in June Cleveland declared that he did not wish the nomination and would not accept it, the *Sun* quickly accused him of insincerity.¹²⁶

As one looks back over the period from 1882 when Cleveland was nominated for Governor of New York State until his last day as President of the United States, it seems amazing that Dana should have kept up the fight against him with such determination and zeal. Especially is this true when it is realized how accurately Cleveland represented many of Dana's convictions. Their only real disagreement was on the tariff. Contradictions brought about by hatred and friendship could never hide the fact that Dana believed in gold and the maintenance of the gold standard, reform, retrenchment, economy, and America first and last. The very fact that Cleveland was independent, honest, fearless, and respected made it harder to assail him. To discredit a great military hero with a most unheroic civil reputation like Grant was mere play for the *Sun*; to discredit a high-minded eccentric like Greeley was sheer sport, and to keep a man like Hayes down was easy. But to belittle and besmirch a man of Cleveland's caliber required all the ingenuity and finesse the *Sun* could exercise. In this contest with Cleveland it may be said that the *Sun* outshone itself.

¹²⁴ July 26, 1894.

¹²⁵ Apr. 17, 1896.

¹²⁶ June 18, 1896.

CHAPTER X

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

IN the post Civil War period Dana stood consistently with the conservative hard-money interests of the East. It is doubtful if he did so out of self-interest. When the war was over he was a debtor and his sympathies had always been with the oppressed. But he believed that fiat money could become a national addiction, as devastating to the poor as the rich. Nothing could persuade him that a promise to pay a dollar was equivalent to the dollar itself. And those who tried to make the debt ridden farmers and workers think so were demagogues.

Dana had a congenial post in an enterprise which promised financial success from the first. He could and did take a broad view of the fiscal problems facing the country. The stockholders of the *Sun* were moneyed men, but there is no reason to believe that Dana had any more consideration for their pocketbooks than for their politics. He was guided rather by accepted economic axioms transferred from an agrarian society and applied with sublime faith to the rapidly developing industrial capitalism: Personal thrift and hard work were the key to success. Poverty and hard times were due to laziness, incompetence, and dishonesty both public and private. Necessary social changes could be brought about by reforming the individual and putting trustworthy men in office. Individual enterprise should be encouraged not directed or restricted. The function of the government was to operate the national machine according to the constitution and not to assume responsibility for the welfare of those whom it governed. Invisible laws determined the working of economic forces. There was no such thing as a managed currency or compensated dollar to meet the rise and fall in the price of gold and commodities. Gold was an absolute standard of value. Silver had value only if kept at a parity with gold. Prices were regulated by the law of supply and demand. Foreign debts and investments, being settled in gold, made it an obligatory standard for all nations. Therefore, the credit and prestige of the United States

demanding the resumption of specie payments at the earliest date consistent with national well being. Likewise the promise of the government to redeem its legal tenders in gold and to pay all bonds in coin unless otherwise stipulated was a sacred obligation. These were convictions of principle with Dana, principles that put him squarely on the side of the moneyed interests who had everything to lose if specie payments were not resumed.

Ruthless as the *Sun* could be in its treatment of individuals, it was always ready in the early days to compromise with the masses. Between the demand for more greenbacks on the one hand and the resumption of specie payments on the other, Dana let his readers know that he accepted the legal tenders already in circulation as a permanent addition to the currency, and instead of advocating their cancellation urged they be converted at the option of the holder into gold bearing bonds. Such a measure accompanied by a policy of rigid economy in national expenditures and a revision of the tax system would enable the Government to resume specie payments and pay off the public debt in the natural course of events.

Although one suspects that Dana's attacks upon the Resumption Act were accentuated by his detestation of Sherman and Hayes, all his chief objections to it have been sustained by later historians. The act was clumsy and was a compromise between sound and rash financial principles. Even Sherman's friends doubted its feasibility. In the two years following its passage casual readers might have thought that Dana had repudiated resumption altogether. He realized this and took occasion from time to time to assure them that his attacks were directed against the Act not against resumption. Indeed, his convictions were so strong that when the silver forces and Greenbackers, united to repeal the Act, he instantly came to its rescue. At the same time he bitterly assailed what he regarded as a new and insidious attempt to further inflate the currency by adding to it a mass of depreciated silver dollars.

The course of the *Sun* from 1868 to 1880 leads to three conclusions: that Dana's alignment with the conservative financiers of the East was not due to any conscious desire to promote the interest of the creditor class at the expense of debtors; that his opposition to the Resumption Act, vindictive as it seemed at the time, was based on honest conviction and not personal enmity; and that nothing could

induce him to abandon the gold standard in favor of silver or to place his trust in any leader identified with the Greenback movement.

Paying the national debt in gold was only one tenet in Dana's financial creed. Rigid self-denying economy and adherence to a system of taxation scaled to the diminishing indebtedness were equally important. Consequently the first issue of the *Sun* was pledged to "advocate retrenchment and economy in the public expenditures and the reduction of the crushing burden of taxation."¹

A large part of the *Sun's* crusade against waste was prompted by the fraud and corruption which permeated the Government at Washington. Money needed to pay the debts and expenses of the Government was being used to line the pockets of swindlers and ringsters often with the knowledge, if not connivance, of high officials:

The Washington Ring, the Military Ring, the Indian Ring, a Syndicate Ring, the Custom House Ring, the Railroad Ring, the Sanborn and Jayne Rings, the Carpet-bagger's Ring, the Memphis-El Paso Ring, and others like them, have all revolved around the White House, and found support there whenever their grasp on the Treasury was threatened, either by direct spoken or written orders from the President or through his confidential agent, Babcock, who has stepped from poverty in 1869 to wealth in 1875.²

Throughout Dana's editorship no instance of waste, no form of fraud or corruption, no dubious financial measure escaped his thrifty eye. Every conceivable form of economy was urged upon city, State, and Federal authorities.³ Every expense account from funerals for Congressmen to bills for public inquiries was picked to pieces and found to be padded, fraudulent, costly, pretentious or extravagant.⁴ Every kind of appropriation, whether for works of art or paving the streets of New York, for pensions or for the police department, for erecting Federal buildings, repairing forts or remodeling the navy, was carefully scrutinized, and if the facts warranted it, denounced as plunder, jobbery, humbug, deliberate fraud, atrocious or exorbitant.⁵ The River and Harbor Bills of 1882 and 1883, and of 1889 and 1890, were called madness, steals, and log rolling politics; while the "mon-

¹ Jan. 27, 1868.

² Feb. 2, 1875.

³ Jan. 27, Feb. 9; 19, 1869; Jan. 24, 1879.

⁴ Feb. 1, 1884.

⁵ Feb. 7; 19; 1868, Jan. 27, Mar. 26, Apr. 4, 1876; Jan. 23, 1877; Feb. 19, 1878; July 8, 20, 1882, Apr. 7, Dec. 21, 25, 1884; Aug. 21, 1885; Sept. 4, 1888; Dec. 4, 1890.

strous record of the billion dollar force-and-fraud Congress" of Harrison's Administration was compared to "the looting that precedes evacuation."⁶ Among the absurd or excessive expenses to be drastically reduced were those for the army, navy, and civil service.⁷ Among institutions or services the *Sun* wished abolished altogether as "expensive luxuries," "useless" or "unnecessary," were City College, West Point, street cleaners, franking privileges, and the diplomatic service.⁸ In the *Sun's* view, depressions were caused either by spending too much money, or by spending too little on productive goods, or spending it for useless and expensive luxuries from abroad.⁹ Strikes were caused by overtaxation, due to waste and extravagance;¹⁰ while debts, municipal, State, and National were piling higher day by day.¹¹

The *Sun* repeatedly urged the reduction of the army to the "smallest possible force for protection." Dana believed 20,000 men in excess of the country's needs, and asked first to have the number cut to 12,500 and later to 10,000. In 1876, the *Sun* asserted: "A reduction to 12,500 soldiers, or one-half the present army, would economize seventeen or eighteen million annually."¹² *Sun* editorials concluded in large print: **REDUCE THE ARMY TO TEN THOUSAND MEN.** In February 1877, it announced that the "West Point military family" was scheming "to increase the army to 156,000 men, and was determined to fight the decrease of numbers/and/diminution of its pay." In reply to this intolerable and preposterous plan . . . let the people say, "**REDUCE THE ARMY TO 10,000 MEN!**"¹³ The *Sun* denounced the army as a "privileged class."

The trouble about the size of the army, is that the war left as one of its evil legacies a hungry taste on the part of a large number of officers and their families and relatives for an elegant and genteel support by the Government. They love the idleness of army life, its ease, its irresponsibility, its high-toned distinction, its certainty. They will not let go their hold on it. They are determined to maintain a large standing army and belong to it until they die.¹⁴

⁶ Dec. 1, 1890; June 25, 1891.

⁷ Feb. 25, Mar. 4, May 3, July 1, 1876; Apr. 7, 14, 1877; Apr. 19, 1878; Apr. 16, 22, 1884.

⁸ Mar. 19, May 12, June 18, July 20, 1869; Feb. 4, 1876; Jan. 23, 1877; Feb. 9, 1878; Apr. 13, 1884; May 5, 1888.

⁹ Sept. 23, 24, Nov. 12, 1873; June 20, 1878; Apr. 6, 1884.

¹⁰ June 3, 27, 1882.

¹¹ Nov. 1, 1873; June 10, 1876; Dec. 1, 1884; Jan. 24, 1879.

¹² May 23, 1876.

¹³ Feb. 9, 1877.

¹⁴ Apr. 7, 1877.

Forts were called "pretty toys for Uncle Sam to spend money on, and to tickle the imagination of the people with."¹⁵

In 1877 "our wretched navy," according to the *Sun*, consisted on paper of sixty-seven steamers, twenty-three sailing vessels, twenty-three ironclads, two torpedo boats, one ferry boat and twenty-six tugboats." "It would not be easy to pick out from the whole number, the little tugboats excepted, any vessels really adapted to modern naval necessities. . . ." ¹⁶ But this fact did not disturb the *Sun*.

In truth, we have no occasion for a powerful navy, and it is a waste of money to undertake to build one up. If we are ever called on to defend our coasts we shall have to do it by torpedoes, and ships will render us little help. Therefore, if Congress has any money to spend on naval improvements let it lay it out on comparatively inexpensive torpedoes, rather than on enormously costly vessels.¹⁷

It remains to say a few words of the *Sun's* opinions upon taxation, and upon the extent to which the high wartime levies should be continued in order to pay off the heavy load of national debt. This was a subject of the greatest importance, and engendered much bitter feeling.

The post-war burden on the taxpayer was indeed heavy. In May, 1869, the *Sun* stated that the Federal levies, direct and indirect, yielded annually about \$350,000,000. If a Treasury surplus should appear, it urged adopting the English system "of devoting it not to the liquidation of any part of the public debt, but to the reduction or abolition of some particular tax." This suggestion was prompted by the fact that "our customs tariff and our scheme of internal taxation distribute their burdens unequally among the various branches of industry and bear with cruel injustice upon the middling and laboring classes." The *Sun* claimed the debt would not be materially reduced for years to come and therefore the effort should be not so much to pay it off as to cut down the annual expenditures necessary to discharge the interest and meet the current demands of the Government.¹⁸

Certain kinds of taxes, Dana believed, should be abolished altogether. Among these was the income tax which he considered uncon-

¹⁵ Apr. 4, 1876.

¹⁶ Apr. 19, 1878.

¹⁷ Apr. 21, 1878.

¹⁸ May 5, 1869.

stitutional. According to the *Sun*, the income tax was a direct tax, and hence "must be laid and apportioned, not according to the income of the individuals in the different States of the Union, but according to the population of each State, so that each shall pay no more in proportion to the number of its inhabitants than another." In addition, the *Sun* justly criticized the constant fraud and evasion, and the incompetent methods of administering the law:

. . . the tax on incomes, unequal and inquisitional as it is, will never be abolished until everybody liable to it is made to pay it without exception. At present so many get off that the groans of the few who have to walk up to the Assessors office and settle are scarcely heard . . . there is a good reason for those who do pay the tax to grumble at the numerous class who equally with them ought to pay it, but who, by frequently changing their residences, or by living in hotels or boarding houses, or perhaps by a timely trip to Europe, succeed year after year in avoiding it. . . .

There is a fair, open contest, it is said, between citizens and the Government as to how much tax the farmer shall pay, and if the agents of the latter are negligent or unskilful in conducting the tithe, the Government must stand the loss. . . .¹⁹

Other *Sun* arguments against the income tax were less plausible. For instance: that the publicity given to the returns was contrary to American ideals of privacy; and that the burden fell upon the poor rather than the rich.²⁰ The *Sun* rejoiced when in 1872 this "odious" tax was repealed.

The *Sun* also denounced any levy which embodied the "unequal" and "evasive" features of the income tax, such as taxation of personal property and corporate investments; or taxes which tends to discourage thrift, such as that on saving bank deposits.²¹ The taxing of bonds was attacked as a step toward repudiation,²² while the internal revenue taxes were always opposed. Among the taxes most approved by the *Sun* were the tariff and the tax on real estate. It also applauded the tax on railroads, which "oppresses nobody and yields to the Treasury seven millions a year."²³

Thus by tax reform the *Sun* meant abolition of the income tax;

¹⁹ Apr. 6, 1869.

²⁰ July 3, 1870.

²¹ Mar. 25, 1868.

²² Feb. 26, Mar. 6, May 9, 1868.

²³ May 30, 1870.

maintenance of the real estate taxes; abolition of personal property taxes; and education of Congress to the superiority of tariff levies over internal revenue taxation.

Between July, 1870, and July, 1872, two portentous clouds appeared on the tariff horizon: the growing hostility on the part of Western farmers to existing duties, and the growing surplus in the revenue. "After paying all appropriations and all interest on the public debt," there remained "about \$100,000,000, a sum greatly in excess of any requirement of the sinking fund."²⁴ Reformers in both parties joined the Liberal Republicans in advocating a thorough reduction of the tariff. Dana deplored the surplus, but he insisted the country was suffering from excessive and obnoxious internal revenue taxes. He asked for an immediate reduction of taxation and the abolition of the income tax. It was the duty of Congress, the *Sun* declared, not only to repeal that, but to take off \$30,000,000 of other taxes without delay.

In June, 1870, when the Secretary of the Treasury announced that during May he had reduced the debt by more than \$14,000,000, the *Sun* greeted this intelligence with dismay:

. . . when we reflect that this money has been wrung from the people by enormous taxation, weighing upon them in the midst of universal depression of business, when we remember that manufacturies are stagnant and agriculture unproductive; that the wages of labor are declining and that very few business men are paying their expenses, our pride over the reduction of the public debt is much diminished. No doubt, if a system of universal confiscation were introduced, the public debt might all be paid off before the next New Year's day; and the present burdensome taxes are nothing but confiscation somewhat ameliorated and disguised.²⁵

It maintained that the distress of Western farmers, as well as Eastern depression, was caused not by high tariff but by high taxes, due to a too rapid payment of the debt. Thus the *Sun* began to extol the virtues of national indebtedness, claiming it was a guard "against extravagant appropriations and a warning against war."

Dana continued to predict that reducing the public debt without reducing taxes would lead to new forms of financial quackery and eventual bankruptcy. Boutwell was quoted as saying that due to the large revenue the public credit had improved any paper currency materially

²⁴ Taussig, F. W., *Tariff History of the United States*, 180-181.

²⁵ June 3, 1870.

appreciated in value; and that the preservation of the national credit was of the highest importance since every business and financial undertaking rests upon it. The *Sun* replied: "A thrifty nation is a better guarantee of the value of its securities than one taxed to bankruptcy."²⁶ Horace Greeley rejoiced over the payment of the debt, expressing a hope that it might be entirely wiped out in twenty years. "Yes," snorted the *Sun*, "and every man in business in the United States would be wiped out with it; the poor would be ground down in poverty; and all the property in the country would belong to a few stony-souled men."²⁷

However faithless to the gold standard Dana proved to be after 1880, he remained steadfast to economy and taxation reform to the very end. Not even the repeated declarations of its most hated Presidents in favor of retrenchment and reduction of taxes could shake the *Sun's* devotion. In fact it went so far upon one occasion as to praise Cleveland for practicing economy in public expenditures. But for the most part the *Sun* kept up a running fire of criticism upon the extravagances of the various administrations, and the absurdities, inequalities and injustice of the tax system. While some of its recommendations were extreme or fanciful and others were based more upon personal prejudices than economic principles, its objections to maintaining the burdensome war time taxes to hasten the payment of the national debt were sound and most praiseworthy.

During 1877-78 the *Sun* repeatedly warned Congress that the Bland-Allison Act would drive away gold and thus lead to a forced contraction of the currency. It exhorted the laborer not to be deceived by this new form of inflation, as "the introduction of the silver dollar will diminish the value of his saving bank deposits, and compel him to strike for advanced wages in order to live as comfortably as he is living now." It pointed out that merchants and manufacturers were opposed to the remonetization of silver because it would "throw the currency into worse confusion than it is in now," and tend "to increase the prices on raw materials just as much as those upon manufactured goods." According to the *Sun*, the only people who would benefit from the act, besides the silver mine owners, were "members of Congress and their friends who are loaded down with Western city lots and

²⁶ Mar. 6, 1871.

²⁷ Apr. 4, 1871.

prairie farms mortgaged for all they are worth, and more too.”²⁸

In 1880 and again in 1883, it was observed that as silver dollars piled up in the surplus, gold began to disappear. The Treasurer warned Congress that the twenty-five million or more of silver dollars, coined annually, were not liked for ordinary commercial purposes. In 1884 and 1885, they were no longer in demand. Increased production of goods, begun in 1879, had outrun purchasing power and the people were experiencing the twinges of machine-made prosperity, bringing them by 1885 to the verge of poverty in the midst of abundance.²⁹ In addition, Europe not only sold more goods to the United States than she bought, but sold heavy installments of her American securities as well. Furthermore, the payment of customs duties in silver was making it extremely difficult to maintain the gold reserve of \$100,000,000 for the redemption of Greenbacks.

In 1885, it was evident that the gold reserve was threatened. The policy of buying silver with gold had diminished the treasury surplus to some \$15,000,000 while the supply of silver had increased to \$71,000,000. Many held the Bland Law responsible, among them President-elect Cleveland already known as a hard money man. It was believed in Washington that the new administration would have to suspend specie payments,³⁰ but Dana refused to join in the “silver scare.” The *Sun* declared there was no immediate danger, as it would take at least three years for silver to replace gold, and even so a silver standard would very likely produce temporary prosperity.

Yet on February 16, 1885, there appeared in the *Sun* an editorial which in one breath condemned the Bland-Allison Act and, for the first time, defended the silver dollars created by it. Favorite terms formerly applied to silver such as the “clipped dollar,” “the eighty-five cent-dollar,” “the light-weight dollar” seemed to be resented. Previously Dana had denounced it as a “cheat,” saying that the only “honest dollar” was composed of “a certain fixed quantity of gold,” and assuring producers and laborers that they would be the men benefited above all others by the return to the “good honest gold dollar.” Now it maintained that the assertion “that workers for wages will be

²⁸ Jan. 10, 1878.

²⁹ The hardship and suffering caused by the depression was frequently discussed in the *Sun*, but it was restricted almost entirely to New York City and was not as severe as the Panics of 1873 and 1879. Noyes, Alex. D., *Forty Years of American Finance*, 96-97.

³⁰ Nevins, Allan, *Cleveland*, 201-202.

the chief sufferers from the silver dollar" was "absurd and disingenuous." In defense of this reversal, the *Sun* said that it was an insult to the intelligence of the American working-men to suppose "they can be fooled into taking eighty-five cents for one hundred cents worth of labor"; also that contracts were protected because a silver dollar "worth only eighty-five one hundredths of a gold dollar now" is "equal in value to the whole dollar of former days." Therefore, "the injustice of paying a debt with it is technical and not real." On the other hand, "gold has so risen in value that payment in it involves injustice." Not only had "the production of gold been diminishing," it is being used more and more for other purposes, with the result that "prices of commodities are lowered wherever the gold standard is maintained," thus augmenting "the quantity of the products of labor used to discharge money debts." The *Sun* concluded:

Whatever may be the reason of it, nobody can deny that prices of most staple articles are lower now than they were formerly. . . . Much of the decline, no doubt, is due to increased production and improved processes of manufacture, but the fact remains that eighty-five or even eighty-three cents in gold will buy more food, clothing, and other articles of daily use than a dollar in gold would have bought in 1878. This being so, the man who lent gold then, and gets it back now is really getting back more value than he parted with. It is true that the law awards it to him, but if in the course of time the law should award him only the equivalent of what he lent, he could not complain of being treated unfairly.

Unless, too, some change is made in the law under which the silver dollar is now coined, the transition from a gold to a silver standard will be slow and gradual. In the meanwhile most, if not all, existing contracts will have been terminated, and plenty of opportunity will be given to renew them upon any basis that may be mutually satisfactory.³¹

When soon afterward Cleveland frankly forced the issue by urging upon Congress the repeal of the Bland-Allison Law, Dana came out unequivocally in support of silver, declaring that the salvation of the country depended upon "adopting the silver standard and giving up all efforts to maintain gold."³² The only explanation for this reversal in financial policy is that it enabled Dana to discredit Cleveland's administration with more facility. Otherwise, why did Dana's championship of silver begin just as Cleveland took up the cudgel for gold?

³¹ Feb. 16, 1885.

³² Mar. 1, 1885.

And why were the *Sun* editorials advocating silver often contradictory, and sometimes ridiculous?

One of the fetishes of the gold fanatics, according to Dana, was the sanctity of the Treasury reserve. The *Sun* claimed they had deluded themselves into believing that if the reserve fell below \$100,000,000, silver demons would be let loose. With a note of serene maliciousness the *Sun* announced on May 18, 1885, that the surplus of \$115,398,922 was rapidly decreasing:

By the first of August, therefore or at least the first of September, the Secretary will have to choose between trenching upon his pet \$100,000,000 gold reserve and the payment of interest on the public debt and of the ordinary expenses of the Government in silver dollars. The probability is that he will adopt the latter alternative, his example will necessarily be followed by the banks, and by the people, the greenbacks themselves will soon have to be redeemed in silver, and we shall witness at last the much dreaded supremacy of the silver standard.

As to the effect of this probable suspension of gold payments and the substitution of silver, we repeat what we have said often before. The change will not be a calamity that many suppose it will be. It will not cause a financial panic nor a collapse in business. On the contrary, judging by the results of the suspension of gold payments in 1862, it is much more likely to revive industry and stimulate speculation.³³

In March Secretary Manning discontinued the redemption of bonds, thus allowing the Federal revenues to accumulate; and wherever possible disbursements were paid in greenbacks instead of gold or silver certificates. In July, he appealed to New York bankers to turn gold into the Treasury by exchanging it for fractional silver coin. An arrangement was also made with the New York Clearing House not to draw upon the Treasury's supply of gold and if possible to augment it. As a result of these timely measures, aided by an improvement in economic conditions, the gold reserve was built up to \$151,000,000.³⁴ To the *Sun* the steps taken to protect the Treasury were unjustifiable.³⁵

The *Sun* was incensed that "the superstitious worship of gold" led the President and his Secretary "to move heaven and earth and to throw the financial world into alarm for the purpose of maintaining payments exclusively in gold."³⁶ When the *Times* and the *Herald* an-

³³ May 18, 1885.

³⁴ Nevins, 268; Noyes, 104-105.

³⁵ July 15, 1885.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

nounced that gold payments were required "by act of Congress" in January, 1875, the *Sun* retorted, "in our copy of the act reference to the word is 'coin' not 'gold.'" ³⁷ On the strength of this ambiguous act Treasurer Jordon had set aside "this sum of gold in his monthly statements as available for none but redemption purposes." The only authorization the *Sun* could find for such a policy was an amendment to the act of July 12, 1882, providing "that the Secretary of the Treasury *may in his discretion* suspend the issue of such [gold] certificates" whenever the amount of gold in the Treasury fell below \$100,000,000." After "diligent search" through the Congressional record the *Sun* learned that the purpose of the amendment was to protect the reserve from too heavy withdrawals for issuing gold certificates; also that whenever the reserve was overdrawn it should be replenished solely " 'by receipts from customs duties.' " ³⁸ In other words, according to the *Sun*, the Secretary of the Treasury had no authority to protect the reserve from being depleted by the coinage of silver, or to replenish it by selling bonds to obtain the necessary gold. His only legal recourse was to suspend further issues of gold certificates and pray for better tariff revenues.

The adroitness of the *Sun's* arguments against the gold reserve were surpassed only by its defense of the silver standard. It grieved Dana to have the silver dollar called "mutilated and dishonest," and to see it blamed for the fluctuations and decline in price level:

The efforts made both in Europe and in the United States to maintain gold as the standard of value, notwithstanding the increased and increasing purchasing power of the metal, have resulted in a widespread depression of prices, and of a consequent check to the activity and volume of trade. . . . In our opinion there will be no end to this state of affairs until either the rise in the value of gold has come to a stop or the gold standard is abandoned for one more stable. . . .

The supply of silver may, indeed be diminishing somewhat, but its price, compared with that of gold, shows that the rate of diminution is far less than that of gold. The prompt adoption of silver as a standard instead of gold would therefore arrest the decline in prices to a great extent, and palliate, if it did not cure, the evil of dull trade.³⁹

³⁷ July 16, 1885.

³⁸ July 19, 1885.

³⁹ June 13, 1885.

Later, the assertions by "the *Journal of Commerce* and those whose opinions it echoes" that silver would eventually "enable debtors to cheat their creditors" not only brought the *Sun* flying to the defense of silver, but put it squarely on the side of the debtor class as opposed to the moneyed interests. The real cheats, Dana declared, were those who insisted upon being paid in dearer money than they had loaned. "It is the extortion which the maintenance of the gold standard enables creditors to practice upon debtors which is the real reason why that standard finds favor in the eyes of the moneyed man." Thus the poor man was to be crushed by "this engine of oppression" in order to maintain the gold standard for the benefit of the rich. To carry out this purpose the Secretary of the Treasury had organized "a conspiracy with our bank Presidents." At one time the *Sun* accused the conspirators of trying to make "silver [dollars] unpopular" by forcing their circulation upon the public in place of the more convenient one and two dollar bills;⁴⁰ and at another time of attempting to "nullify" the Bland-Allison Act.⁴¹

Although on September 28, 1885, the *Sun* felt it was unlikely that the Bland-Allison Act would be repealed, it was pessimistic as to the future. There was every reason to believe that mankind would be forever burdened with the gold standard. Those who malign silver, "with their transparent falsehoods and fallacies"

. . . will certainly defeat, then and for the next two years, any legislation enlarging the coinage of silver. The result will be that we shall remain as we are now, under the dominion of the gold standard, with its constantly increasing power over life and labor. At the rate of \$30,000,000 a year it will take ten years to bring our silver coinage up to \$500,000,000 which is the amount needed to displace our present stock of \$500,000,000 of gold. In this stand of things prudent men will prefer money to goods, and to sell rather than to buy. If the purchasing power of gold goes on increasing as it has done during the past ten years, the bulk of the property in the country which is pledged for debts will pass into the hands of creditors. The bonds of our great railroad corporations, for example, already in many cases amount to more than the value of the roads, and the fall in the price of railroad stocks will go on until they reach zero. Labor, too, which at present, owing to the fact that the number of skilled artisans has not increased so rapidly as the supply of commodities, and that it is well organized to resist reductions of wages, has not yet suffered directly. But, with the

⁴⁰ Sept. 10; 2, 1885.

⁴¹ July 15, 1885.

natural increase of population and the steadily diminishing opportunities for the profitable investment of capital, wages will have to come down to the level fixed by the merciless gold standard. The prospect may be pleasant to bankers and owners of money generally, although they lose more by low rates of interest than they gain by low prices; but to the rest of the world it is rather gloomy.⁴²

Proposals for adopting the double standard were regarded as dangerous if not absolutely impossible. Bimetallism, either national or international, while "very plausible and fascinating," was founded upon a "fiction."⁴³ It was beyond human laws to make "a given weight of coined silver equal in value to a given weight in gold coin." The only way greenbacks and silver were kept equal in value to gold was "the practical convertibility of both into gold dollars." But to maintain this equality they had to be restricted in volume. Bimetallism is attainable only by a fiction—namely, subordinating one metal and making it convertible into the other. "Unrestricted coinage of both metals would end eventually either in silver monometallism or in gold monometallism," depending upon which was the cheaper to produce.

The sending of Manton Marble abroad in behalf of international bimetallism was therefore looked upon with disfavor. In November the *Sun* reported that Marble had failed:

Under instructions from President Cleveland, Mr. Marble conferred with the principal Governments of Europe upon the subject of establishing a common fixed ratio between the gold and silver standards of monetary value, and found that none of them would consent to it. This was known to be the fact before, but we suppose the President desired to have formal proof of it in order to satisfy doubting Congressmen.

It being thus apparent that international bimetallism is out of the question, and it being equally apparent that bimetallism in individual countries is impossible, the people of the United States will soon be called upon to decide which of the two metals—silver or gold—they will adopt as their monetary standard. . . .

The production of gold is diminishing year by year, while more and more of it is used in the arts, and its exchangeable value is constantly increasing. The production of silver, is, on the other hand, increasing, though not so rapidly as that of the great staples of industry, but still rapidly enough to make it far less oppressive than gold as a standard of value. Justice, therefore, and our commercial interests combine to recommend that silver be adopted and gold dis-

⁴² Sept. 28, 1885.

⁴³ Aug. 17, 1885; Nov. 7, 1885.

carded until the course of events shall reverse the present relations of the two standards.⁴⁴

In little less than a year the *Sun* had boldly put itself on record against the maintenance of the gold reserve and in favor of coinage of silver to the extreme limit of the Bland Law. It seems clear that this was a pose on Dana's part. It was contrary to all that he had said in the past and all that he would say after Cleveland left political life; it belied the underlying philosophy which guided Dana in most of his decisions; and in time of real crisis this stand was repudiated. The *Sun* boasted that it upheld silver in the interest of the common people:

Whatever we have said in behalf of silver money has been from honest conviction and directly against our own pecuniary interest. We know very well that the establishment of the silver standard besides being unpopular with creditors and bondholders, will lead to higher prices for paper and other supplies, higher wages for our employees, and larger returns from sales and subscriptions. But we also know that it is demanded by justice and good policy, and will in the end promote the prosperity of the country. We have therefore faithfully presented the arguments in its favor, and have defended it from unfounded censure. If the country shall ultimately decide against it, we shall cheerfully acquiesce in the decision and accept the resulting benefit to our own cash account; but in the meanwhile we will do our duty regardless of consequences.⁴⁵

Early in Harison's administration the demand for unlimited coinage of silver was renewed, resulting in the passage of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act on July 14, 1890. This measure originated in the ill-advised promise of the Republican platform to do something for silver. William Windom, Harrison's Secretary of the Treasury, believed that statesmanship required catering to the "overwhelming preponderance of public sentiment" which demands that "both silver and gold be utilized" as money.⁴⁶ His special plan was rejected; and in its place a new measure, the Sherman Bill, emerged. After meeting many modifications during its passage through Congress, it was finally passed. It required the Treasury to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion monthly, or if less, as much as should be offered. The bullion was to be paid for in legal tender notes redeemable in either gold or silver at the Secretary's discretion, in accordance with the "established policy of

⁴⁴ Nov. 10, 1885.

⁴⁵ Jan. 12, 1886.

⁴⁶ Rhodes, James F., *History of the United States*, VIII, 353-354; Noyes, 142-144.

the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio or such ratio as may be provided by law.⁴⁷ This last clause, the work of Sherman, was interpreted by the Silver Senators as a total abandonment of the double standard and a triumph of gold. Although its meaning was confused, Eastern Senators believed that whenever the Treasury should be forced to make a choice between gold and silver, the noteholder was entitled to receive whichever coin he desired.

In view of the *Sun's* rabid championship of silver since Cleveland's public commitment to the gold standard in 1885, it is interesting to read its comment upon the Silver Purchase Act. Calling it "another triumph for John Sherman," in which neither "the free coinage men of the West" nor "the conservative Republicans of the East" were entirely satisfied, the *Sun* welcomed it as offering a truce:

On the whole, it may be said that the extreme silver men have the more cause for exultation. For a long time a good many Eastern public men have been hostile to silver, more from prejudice than from study of the subject. They have had the notion that silver meant wild cat speculations and financial disturbance. Time has clarified their judgment, and they have at least been brought to admit that the country is not going to the deuce on account of additions to the volume of silver currency. . . . This is the chief value of the passage of the bill to the Westerner. It commits the Republican party to silver to a less extent, indeed, than the West wishes, but to a far greater extent than the Eastern Republicans have hitherto desired. As far as the Republican party is concerned, silver has nothing to fear. . . .

Of course the settlement is only provisional. The silver issue is scotched, not killed.⁴⁸

In less than six months after the passage of the Silver Purchase Act the Westerners were again demanding the free and unlimited coinage of silver. The *Sun* met their threats with only a murmur of protest. In December, 1890, it admonished Congress that this was not the time to consider the free coinage of silver:

We warn Congress, in the interests of the general business of the country, against playing with edged tools. The unlimited coinage of silver had better be put aside.

What is imperatively necessary, if Congress would not incur the gravest responsibility, is a prompt and emphatic declaration of the Government policy

⁴⁷ Noyes, 149.

⁴⁸ July 14, 1890.

regarding silver. If it is proposed to buy the existing silver surplus of 10,000,000 ounces or so, and then proceed to the free coinage of American silver, well and good. It may not be the wisest thing to do, but it will do no harm. Above all things let it be known promptly and decisively one way or the other, what it is proposed to do.⁴⁹

Despite its warnings to Congressmen, the *Sun* proceeded to manipulate the silver question in a way that won the approval of Silverites both South and West. It soon quoted several newspapers concerning its contributions to "one of the most important topics of the day":

The *Sun* gets on the right side once in a while. It is the only paper in New York that favors the free coinage of silver. *Atlanta Journal*.

Of all the great newspapers of the East, the *Sun* enjoys the distinction of having been the most persistent and determined champion of the silver dollar and free coinage. All honor to the *Sun* for that. *South Bend Times*.

Southern papers should bear in mind that it is infinitely to the credit of the *Sun* that it is the only New York daily that advocates the free coinage of silver. *Augusta Chronicle*.

We listen to these remarks of friendship with pleasure. . . . The *Sun* is for the Democracy first, last, and always.⁵⁰

Although the *Sun* was facile and capricious, its change back to gold in 1895-96 was more gradual than its swing to silver in 1885. Cleveland was soon to retire, thus eliminating the necessity of ridiculing a hard money President. Even more important, the Populists had taken up the cry of free silver, while their increasing numbers threatened the old Democracy. When it came to a real test, Dana stood with the Republicans on the gold standard. Early in 1892, it was apparent that the *Sun's* enthusiasm for the silver standard was cooling; the reason being "there are much more important questions than the silver question in our opinion."⁵¹

A few days before Cleveland took office the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad went bankrupt, sending a premonition of disaster over the nation. A tariff change was thought imminent and business paused. When Harrison left the White House the Treasury was in a most unhealthy condition. Huge appropriations and needless extravagance had depleted the reserves, while the gold supply hovered perilously near to the statutory minimum. In May the National Cordage Company failed,

⁴⁹ Dec. 13, 1890.

⁵⁰ Jan. 24, 1891.

⁵¹ Mar. 30, 1892.

precipitating a stock market collapse. The Panic of 1893 had arrived.

The financial problem was more perplexing than ever. The Sherman Act, providing for the purchase of practically the entire output of the American silver mines, threatened the gold standard. In the crisis, it was fast aiding the enormous outflow of gold to foreign countries. The President and Secretary had two intentions: they wished to augment the gold reserve, and to repeal the Silver Act of 1890.

Cleveland called an extra session of Congress to convene early in August. The *Sun* pointed out that since neither party had dared to stand decisively for or against the silver cause in 1892, there would be much confusion. Each Senator would take that side which commended itself to his judgment or which he believed in accord with the prevailing sentiment of his State.⁵² It was Cleveland, not his party, who had taken a stand against free coinage and for maintaining the gold standard. Democrats were doubtful on the subject. The *Sun*, which had come out early in February in favor of repeal, spent its time while the bill was being discussed, giving advice and criticizing Democratic leaders who spoke in favor of silver.

On October 30, the day the repeal was passed, the Treasury gold reserve amounted to \$84,000,000. By January 18, 1894, it had fallen to 69,000,000, with every prospect of falling still lower before the end of the fiscal year.⁵³ The situation was critical. Yet when Secretary Carlisle appealed to Congress for permission to sell bonds for gold and later for authorization to float a three per cent bond issue, he was told that if the supply of gold ran out he could use silver to redeem the silver certificates.⁵⁴ In other words, Congress intended to force the Government to adopt the silver standard.

On January 17, 1894, without saying more to Congress, Carlisle effected a bond sale of \$50,000,000. "Secretary Carlisle is entirely right," said the *Sun*, "in seeking to get from Congress power to provide for the immediate necessities of the Treasury by the issue of bonds." On the other hand, it characterized his proposal that the Resumption Act be amended to facilitate the sale of bonds for maintaining the gold reserve as "curiously crooked and roundabout."

A month after this the House retaliated by passing the Bland Bill re-

⁵² Oct. 21, 1893.

⁵³ Noyes, 204-209; Nevins, 596-597.

⁵⁴ Jan. 17, 1894.

quiring the coinage of the silver seigniorage and other loose bullion in the Treasury. It was quickly approved by the Senate and sent to the President. It meant the addition of only \$55,000,000 silver dollars to the currency, a sum so small that nothing but the principle involved stood against it.

It was directly in violation of the President's avowed declaration in respect to gold and his attempts to stabilize the currency. But to many of his supporters the coining of so few silver dollars seemed a trivial price to pay for placating the aggrieved silverites. Dana informed Cleveland that he could either veto the bill "on its merits, and face the consequences like a man"; or "approve the measure on its merits, and face the consequences calmly like a man."⁵⁵ After much speculation, the *Sun* announced on March 30 that the President had vetoed the bill:

Altogether the message will meet with the approval of conservative financiers in this section of the country, although it is not likely that it will satisfy the advocates of free silver coinage and other currency inflationists here or elsewhere.

Exactly why the *Sun* felt called upon to commend Cleveland for his veto is a matter of conjecture. The next day a leading editorial said:

Of course the President was sincere in his desire to block the Bland Seigniorage bill. He showed his sincerity by vetoing the bill.

The veto was an act of political courage, creditable to the President. Nobody doubts the sincerity of Mr. Cleveland's convictions in any case where his mind is made up, or his readiness to face the music when the situation is politically unpleasant to him.

The *Sun* had continued its arguments against the income tax ever since its repeal in 1872; and the Wilson Tariff Bill, incorporating an income tax measure, provoked its wrath. In 1894, the imminence of this "overt act of communism," seemed to make Dana forget his most valid objection—that the tax was unconstitutional. Cleveland's approval of the measure may have added to the *Sun's* vigor in denouncing it. But the reasons given by the journal were numerous: It asserted that this was "legislation calculated to engender classes in this country, to array one section against another, or to encroach upon the fiscal resources reserved and needed for the support of the State governments." The

⁵⁵ Mar. 17, 1894.

Sun repeated the statement of Senator Manderson, of Nebraska, that the income tax was "the first step toward the creation of a privileged few constituting a moneyed aristocracy, which, contributing from their abundant revenues to the support of the Government, will rule it, or essay to rule it." The *Sun* pointed out that the richer classes in Prussia, Sweden and other European countries were content to bear extra burdens because they were conceded a share in the government in proportion to their contribution.⁵⁶ It also believed that the passage of an income tax would deter Southern progress:

The South needs all the capital it can get for the development of its natural resources, the improvement of its means of communication, and the expansion of its industries. In the South is to be seen the stronghold of the socialistic movement against wealth, if it lays by its old conservative traditions and joins the frenzied ranters who seek to punish and proscribe the rich. it will do so at its own expense and to its own loss. Capital cannot be expected to engage freely in a region where socialistic notions of property prevail. Under such conditions the South may be able to get capital, but only at an increased rate of interest, proportionate to the risk; and thus in striving to fine and injure the rich, it will be fining itself and injuring itself.⁵⁷

In 1895 the constitutionality of the income tax was tested before the Supreme Court. The decision in *Pollock vs. Farmers Trust Company*, declaring the measure unconstitutional, received unbounded praise from the *Sun*, while those who had dissented were scorned and ridiculed:

The incontrovertible fact that a tax on land is a direct tax and therefore impossible for the American people to exact except after apportionment by population has been so declared, in the face of insidious and powerful influences which threatened to pull down the Supreme Court into a whirlpool of legal and intellectual sophistry that would have stamped it forever after as the pusillanimous and impotent slave of every popular clamor loud enough to make itself heard. . . .

There is no time to fret at the increased discrimination about property, or the increased perplexities of the Federal tax office, which flow from the Supreme Court decision.

Let us thank God that we have still a Supreme Court capable of defending the Constitution and holding its supreme law inviolate, even against the most

⁵⁶ July 2, 1894.

⁵⁷ May 2, 1894.

powerful and most vicious assault on its stability which recklessness and contempt for America's democratic institutions can combine to produce.⁵⁸

The controversy over the income tax widened the breach between the *Sun* and those forces which claimed to be working in the interest of the common people. A growing affinity between the advocates of the income tax and the silverites was apparent. Altogether circumstances were converging to force the *Sun* to renounce its silver convictions. In October, 1894, after calling the free coinage of silver merely a "substitute for the silver standard," it pleaded guilty to nearly ten years of perjury by confessing:

The truth is that the restoration of the silver standard is a scheme for robbing creditors for the benefit of debtors and for nothing else. Nor would it affect creditors alone. Every earner of wages would, until after much striking and struggling he had got his wages raised, be able to buy only half as much of the articles he consumes in daily life as he buys now; and every savings bank depositor would find his little accumulation of savings practically cut in half. If this wrong is to be perpetrated let it be done without disguise, by reducing the value of the gold dollar, and not under the cloak of restoring the free coinage of silver.⁵⁹

Despite this admission Dana continued to attack Cleveland's financial policy. However, criticisms were no longer directed against the maintenance of the gold standard, but against the methods employed to preserve it.

The bond issue, floated in January, 1894, had barely tided the Treasury over ten months. The depression, delay in passing the Wilson tariff, and the fact that gold was exported in large quantities combined to deplete the gold reserve. Of the \$100,000,000 in the Treasury only some \$60,000,000 was in gold. It was evident that a second bond issue would be inescapable. On November 24, the entire \$50,000,000 issue of bonds was awarded to a single syndicate, which actually lost on the transaction. Ten weeks after this bond sale, the same causes again operated to sink the reserve below the minimum.

Faced with increasing unemployment and renewed Congressional demands for free coinage of silver, the financial powers again lost confidence in the Government. Gold for shipment or hoarding continued

⁵⁸ Apr. 14, 1895.

⁵⁹ Oct. 2, 1894.

to be drawn from the Treasury. Congress would do nothing to assist in the maintenance of gold and both home and foreign markets concluded that the preservation of the public credit was no longer possible. Late in January, when the outlook was blackest, Dana informed the country that "under the pretense of 'maintaining the gold reserve' Mr. Cleveland's Administration" had "illegally borrowed about \$116,000,000 up to the present time":

Another illegal issue of bonds is imminent, the pretext being that the gold reserve has gone down again about to the point to which it has sunk just before the second illegal loan in November last. . . .

Bond sales for revenue! That is the policy of Grover Cleveland and his sole achievement.

Such is the record of the mouther of promises and the shifty borrower of cash wherewith to cover the failure of performance; the shameless breaker of pledges and malicious maker of debts! ⁶⁰

The President's special message of January 28 asked for legislation to meet the deficit in the gold reserve.⁶¹ He urged that the Treasury be authorized to redeem and cancel \$500,000,000 in greenbacks and Sherman Silver Act notes as fast as they were presented. Calling this "a futile message" the *Sun* explained it as a proposition by which the national banks would reap \$15,000,000 interest in gold every year for fifty years, or a total of \$750,000,000 in return for supplying the country with \$500,000,000 in paper money. This seemed a poor bargain, considering that the country was getting its paper money "for nothing except the loss of interest on the comparatively small amount of gold needed for a redemption fund."

The naked statement of this scheme is sufficient to insure its rejection by Congress without debate, and by the entire body of our citizens except perhaps national bank stockholders and national bank officers.⁶²

When in response to the President's message William M. Springer introduced a bill, Dana proposed his appointment as Minister to Mexico.⁶³ No bill embodying Cleveland's suggestion could be made law with the West more determined each day that the country should abandon the gold standard.

⁶⁰ Jan. 25, 1895.

⁶¹ Nevins, 657.

⁶² Jan. 29, 1895.

⁶³ Feb. 18, 1895.

Early in February it was obvious that the Government would not be able to pay its obligations in gold much longer. The flotation of another bond issue at public subscription appeared impossible. Although the idea of a private sale was repugnant to both Cleveland and Carlisle circumstances compelled them to enter into negotiations with J. P. Morgan and August Belmont. On February 8 an agreement was reached which brought the gold reserve up to \$107,550,000, netting Morgan and Belmont about seven million dollars.⁶⁴

The *Sun* had pronounced the first two bond issues "illegal," although conducted by open sales. The emergency, generally regarded as acute, had been called a "pretext." But at last Dana's underlying faith in the gold standard and his ingrained conservatism proved stronger than the satisfaction derived from obstructing Cleveland. After discussing whether or not the law of 1862, giving the Secretary of the Treasury the right to purchase "coin with any bonds or notes of the United States upon such terms as he may deem advantageous to the public interest," was still in force, the *Sun* concluded that in an emergency it would be "ungracious" to raise the question:

When a building is on fire it is no time to dispute about the source where water can be drawn to extinguish it, nor the form of the engine employed. It is apparent that the Treasury needs the gold which the President is obtaining for it, and all patriotic citizens will sustain his act.⁶⁵

Later it defended Morgan, Cleveland, and the United States against the attacks of the "depraved" New York *World*:

The blackmailing hand of the New York *World* is as quick to bury its soiled nails in the national credit as in the throat of a corporation, or the private life of an individual. For nearly a week the *World* has intimated that President Cleveland's course in the recent bond transaction was influenced by a "consideration." It is charged that he had a dishonest, dishonorable, and immoral motive in fixing the price of the bond issue. The *World* is depraved. It is an offense against the people and the country, and it should be unspeakable to all decent men.

If there is a name in mercantile life that stands for high principle and unblemished honor, it is that of J. Pierpont Morgan. In respect of steadfast probity and absolute rectitude of method Mr. Morgan's career is looked upon with pride by every merchant in the United States. His share in the transaction whereby the Treasury has acquired the gold it needed, whereby the country's

⁶⁴ Noyes, 234-240.

⁶⁵ Feb. 9, 1895.

credit has been reaffirmed, whereby he and the great banking powers of the world have had their lawful profit, that share is unimpeachable. And the relation thereto of the President of the United States is likewise beyond reproach. The aspersions that are cast upon it by the *World* are an imputation against the national honor.⁶⁶

The Morgan bonds gave the Treasury but brief security. By August, "prudent financiers" were discussing the probability of a fresh issue. The *Sun* announced that gold continued to be exported. The reserve had been reduced below the statutory minimum and was falling more than a million dollars per day.⁶⁷ With malicious delight Dana told the people that their precious \$100,000,000 was an arbitrary number and gleefully described the position into which the President had been thrust. "Everything depends upon the pleasure of the Administration. It can sell bonds or it can refuse to sell them, just as it chooses." On the one hand, if it did not sell them, its gold reserve would decrease as it had done in 1894, Eastern people would take fright and hold the Administration responsible. On the other hand, if it did sell them, the public debt would be increased and if the bonded debt increased opposition would be equally aroused.⁶⁸

In January, 1896, just a decade after dedicating itself to the disinterested service of the silver cause, the *Sun* wrote as follows of its former allies:

The past ten years of free silver agitation shows that its triumphs have been confined to the mouths of a few free silver men. We have been told, from first to last, that the South was hot for silver; that the West was burning for it; the entire country was frantic for it, with the exception of a little patch touching the Atlantic coast north of Delaware. All humbug.

With trifling exceptions, free silver has been swept from the field of battle every time it ventured there. All that it has been able to do has been to talk. It has been beaten out of sight every time, and conclusively. Not a State in the Union, barring perhaps Mississippi or Utah, could be carried today for free silver. The mortification that must follow this fact has no doubt stimulated the silver men in the Senate to make a last desperate stand in vindication of themselves. They have been repudiated by the country on all sides. They are without following and without authority to disturb us further with their theory. But they have the votes in the Senate and they propose to use them. They hold the fort; and what shall we do about it?

⁶⁶ Feb. 23, 1895.

⁶⁷ Nevins, 685.

⁶⁸ Aug. 14, 1895.

It is for the country to lash these modern free lances with the truth. They are buccaneers for their own vanity. They are using the commissions given to them by their constituents for purposes which their constituencies condemn. Let them hear from the public, soon and with emphasis.⁶⁹

All doubts as to the *Sun's* renewed allegiance to the gold standard were dispelled during the campaign of 1896. Early in May, discussing Levi P. Morton and William McKinley for the Republican nomination, the *Sun* plainly indicated its choice:

Governor Morton continues to typify the soundest financial doctrine and the sanest impulses of the Republicanism of today. The exact difference between Morton and McKinley can be told in a few words. Seventeen years ago Morton's advice to the party, from the floor of Congress, was this:

"Retain and maintain a gold standard."

That is where he has stood ever since, and that is where he stands now. Six years ago Major McKinley thus expressed on the floor of Congress the shallow wish which is now the chief source of financial disturbance:

"I want the double standard."⁷⁰

Even when McKinley was nominated on a platform pledging the maintenance of the gold standard and a protective tariff system—a platform which Dana called "unassailable" it still refused to accept him, saying:

... An amiable, engaging, showy, but rather shifty commonplace like McKinley often reaches public distinction; but personality or individual achievement hasn't drawn to him the sentiment which has made his nomination possible with an irresistible majority in the Republican National Convention. The fortunes of a name has given him the unrivalled prestige of representing, beyond any other Republican, the reverse of the disastrous, aimless, and utterly un-American politics of Grover Cleveland. Men like Thomas B. Reed and Levi P. Morton, McKinley's superiors in both mind and character, have lost in the lottery and McKinley has won. Clevelandism has made McKinley, and we may be thankful that in the violence of the reaction it has made nothing worse.⁷¹

Although Dana had helped prepare the way for a silver apostle, Bryan's emergence overwhelmed him with anxiety and disgust:

The Chicago candidate is the Hon. William Jacobin Bryan of Nebraska, a youthful rhetorician of winning manners and melodious voice, just one year past

⁶⁹ Jan. 10, 1896.

⁷⁰ May 2, 1896.

⁷¹ June 19, 1896.

the minimum of the Presidential age.

This nomination is the outcome of no preliminary scheming. It is purely accidental and emotional. Mr. Bryan, having captivated the fancy of the crazy crowd by a speech in which the brutalities and ferocities of Tillman's well-known harangue were paraphrased in more elegant diction, with some of the graces of oratory, and in a voice audible in every part of the Convention hall.

Just as during the French Revolution one demagogue swiftly supplanted another in the affections of the mob and for a time held the supreme place of power, so the revolutionists and repudiators of the Chicago Assembly or Convention have with bewildering rapidity transferred their allegiance through a succession of Populist favorites. Altgeld, Bland, Tillman, Bryan, have been in turn the heroes of the hour. It was the lot of the boy orator of the Platte to charm the imaginations of the revolutionists and repudiators during the hour immediately preceding the balloting. He made himself heard, he said nothing unpleasant to the ears of Populism, or discordant with the platform; and the Convention made him its candidate for President!

This is the most effective illustration possible of the Government by ill-regulated emotion and fickle passion which we should have if the Chicago idea ever prevailed at the polls. It is an awful warning to the people of the country.⁷²

Two days later *Sun* readers learned more about William Jacobin Bryan:

The shallow and hysterical emotion which nominated him on the strength of a few chromos of speech cannot last, and will not be felt outside of the Convention. He may continue to appear to himself what Governor Stone of Missouri painted him, in pig molasses, the night of his nomination, "a splendid leader, beautiful as Apollo, intellectual beyond comparison, a great orator, a great scholar," but the people are not selecting candidates on account of their loveliness of face and figure, and of Mr. Bryan's intellectual equipment they are capable of forming their own opinions. The gifts of oratory and scholarship, provided he possessed either to an extent calculated to impress the sane and the well-educated, would not count. The questions the people will ask are: "Who is he?" "What has he done?"

And they will find out that he is a glib young lawyer, who has practised politics instead of his profession, and has once lapsed, with no cheerful results, into journalism. His public career consists in having served two terms in Congress, with no other conspicuity than what he attained by an occasional empty and rhetorical speech, such as filled the Populists and Anarchists with rapture last Friday. Though a member of the Ways and Means Committee during both terms, he never caused himself to be regarded as an important personage in it or in the House. In the Fifty-third Congress he helped force the income tax, filched from his friends and allies, the Populists, upon the Democratic party, but he was not the original nor a notable person in the scheme. In short, it was

⁷² July 11, 1896.

by means of his speeches outside, his irresponsible, free-silver harangues, and not by his efficiency in Congress, two or three years as a radical talker, who has coquetted with the Populists and was well regarded by them. Of judgment, of administrative ability, of knowledge of affairs, of any essential quality of statesmanship, or any qualities whatever except a fluent tongue and a sufficiency of self-assurance, he has never shown a trace, so far as his brief and obscure career can be followed. If he were a candidate on the best of platforms, he would be only a sonorous nullity. He remains a sonorous nullity on about as bad a platform as can be conceived.

Mr. Bryan may feel tolerably certain that the people will be careful about selecting the next President.⁷³

No longer was the *Sun* the stormy petrel of the Democracy. Henceforth, its main purpose was to secure the election of McKinley:

The cause of honest money and the defeat of repudiation—in other words the success or defeat of McKinley—cannot be subordinated to any question of Democratic organization or regularity. It is the duty of every American to join the forces of the strongest and most hopeful opponent of the Populist Convention at Chicago. And the Ohio candidate is the man.

Patriots must follow McKinley against the enemies of the republic who come from the prairies, as though he were the regular commander for defense against an enemy from over the sea.⁷⁴

Fearing that Cleveland would be nominated should the sound-money Democrats bolt the Bryan ticket, the *Sun* sharpened its attacks upon him, mustering out all its old arguments against a third term.⁷⁵ But Dana had again misjudged Cleveland. Early in September the “re-generated Democracy” at Indianapolis registered its “magnificent . . . protest” against “the assaults of the revolutionists” by nominating Gen. Palmer and Gen. Buckner on a gold platform. This was hailed in the *Sun* as “A Splendid Ticket—Don’t Vote for It.”⁷⁶

Most of the *Sun*’s editorial space during the campaign was devoted to personal attacks upon Bryan, in which the “new and regenerated” McKinley was made to shine by comparison with “the shallow, shifty, unscrupulous, and vulgar adventurer” from Omaha, Nebraska.⁷⁷ It urged its readers to forget “the McKinley of the past” in this great crusade against “recreant Democrats and Republicans,” “Populists” and

⁷³ July 13, 1896.

⁷⁴ July 15, 1896.

⁷⁵ May 23, 1896; July 6, 1896.

⁷⁶ Sept. 5, 1896.

⁷⁷ Nov. 2, 1896.

"Anarchy." It is for this "New McKinley," "this second McKinley . . . if you please, that the *Sun* asks patriotic Americans to vote without regard for party nomenclature." ⁷⁸

The famous "Sixteen to One" issue played little part in the *Sun's* columns. It was explained on one occasion as "the inflationist's attempt to give respectability to their highwayman demand" that silver "be re-adopted as the standard." ⁷⁹ But for the most part readers were told "to stop bothering / their / heads about the figures 16 to 1" and "to leave the gold standard out of the question, for there is no direct issue upon it." The only "real issue" was silver.

The *Sun* had broken clearly and decisively with the Democratic party. It was no longer the Democracy of Jefferson, Jackson, and Tilden. For over twenty-five years its readers had been advised and implored to vote the Democratic ticket. Even though the *Sun* had reserved the right to abuse and insult its candidates, Dana had consistently maintained that the Democracy was less extravagant, less corruptible, less hypocritical, and more honest in its principles than the Republican party. Now in a signed editorial he wrote:

Some personal response seems to be due to the numerous friends who have sought from me an expression of my individual opinion as to the duty in the present political campaign of those who adhere to the principles which hitherto have characterized the Democratic party.

The declaration of notions adopted in the name of the Democracy by the Chicago Convention is for the most part so hostile to the doctrines which have prevailed in the Democratic party in the past, as to demand its rejection by all those who would not abandon the Democracy's essential ideas and best traditions. ⁸⁰

The sweeping election of McKinley and Hobart on November 3 was greeted in the *Sun* as evidence that the country had warned the promoters of revolution to keep their hands off American institutions and voted to maintain the nation's honor. Calling Bryan a "smashed musical doll," the *Sun* predicted that the country was on the way to prosperity, that a period of good business and good wages had begun. ⁸¹

There seems to be no logical explanation for the *Sun's* change in attitude on the silver question. Cleveland had wounded Dana's pride

⁷⁸ July 17, 1896.

⁷⁹ July 15, 1896.

⁸⁰ Aug. 6, 1896.

⁸¹ Nov. 16, 18, 1896.

and was by nature repellent to him. Had he championed silver Dana would undoubtedly have remained loyal to the gold standard. This is self evident to a reader of the *Sun* from 1885 to 1897. But other factors entered in. Dana's philosophy remained unchanged. And when it was rejected or failed to function he blamed the rank and file not the system. Also during this period Dana had become rich and the *Sun* an instrument of power. He had made a host of enemies. Because of his ruthlessness in dealing with individuals and his opportunism in public affairs he was disliked by many of the group to which he belonged by breeding and social position. The boorish and rugged Cleveland was accepted and admired where he was spurned. Perhaps this made Dana value all the more the friendship of men like Laffan and the Bartletts, privileged to know the delightful and generous side of his nature.

In his advocacy of the silver standard Dana seldom used the arguments of those who looked to its adoption as the solution for their economic ills. They were motivated by a self-interest with which Dana was in no way identified. But while he extolled the benefits to accrue to the workers and debtor classes he never failed to make it clear that a silver standard would injure the vested interests including the *Sun* itself. While this sounded altruistic it injured the cause of free silver. Likewise his arguments against bimetallism were more damaging to silver than gold. Yet this was so skillfully done that the *Sun* was hailed the country over as the great protagonist of the silver forces in the East. It is also indicative of Dana's insincerity that whenever it appeared the Silverites might win out, the *Sun* advised waiting; and in 1893 it strongly urged the repeal of the Silver Purchase Act.

As a matter of fact, there was nothing in common between Dana and the discontented elements who clamored for cheap money and an income tax. Had he been guided by fundamental principles calling for a new social order there might have been a similarity in point of view. Lacking this, Dana failed completely to comprehend the application of the far-sighted objectives of the Populist leader to the problems of the day. As Populism developed in strength the *Sun* became a red-baiter. And when the Populists took up the Silver issue it turned with loathing upon the Silverites.

Dana's attacks upon the superstitious worship of the gold standard and his arguments in favor of what today would be called a "compensated" silver dollar were shrewd, and based upon carefully thought out

monetary principles. But respect for the *Sun's* position is lessened by the evidence that Dana's reasoning was largely inspired by animosity against Cleveland. The same may be said for Dana's repudiation of the silver cause and return to the gold standard, which was probably the best policy for the country at the time. Here again the *Sun's* appeal was not to logic and facts but to dread of Populism and contempt for Bryan.

Knowing Dana's dislike of McKinley, one cannot help wondering what the position of the *Sun* would have been in the campaign of 1896 had the Democrats nominated David B. Hill on a Silver Standard platform.

CHAPTER XI

TARIFF PROBLEMS

DURING the Civil War the United States shifted from a low to a high tariff policy. For years prior Dana had pointed out in the *Tribune* the fallacies of free trade and the advantages of protective tariff. In doing so, he did not attempt to demolish economic arguments of the Free Traders with principles governing protection. His approach was emotional. He saw clearly the possibilities for national development with the opening of the West, the building of transcontinental railroads and the settlement of vast stretches of unoccupied land. The abundance of natural resources ready for exploitation, the enormous influx of immigrants, and the need of railroad builders and homesteaders was bound to increase the demand for manufactured goods. Either it would be supplied by the factories of Europe or by home manufacturers.

With the annexation of Canada, Mexico and other adjacent territory, which Dana believed the manifest destiny of America, he saw no reason why the United States could not eventually become a self-sufficient nation. To accomplish this, home industries must be encouraged by guarantees of protection against foreign competition. We must keep the American market for American goods and send our surplus abroad. In this way the United States would become powerful and economically independent, able to sustain herself against foreign competition and aggression. It was in such sentiments as these that Dana's desire for a high protective tariff was rooted. Free traders were either aliens at heart or soft in mind.

But it was dire necessity for increased revenue, not wholesale agreement with Dana's views, that forced Congress to increase Customs duties during the Civil War to a level even beyond his expectations. And when the war was over, it was evident they must be continued in order to pay the gigantic debt incurred.¹ Thus the tariff problem was inextricably bound up with the payment of the war debt and the tax system in general. Dana had positive views on both points. The debts

¹ Tarbell, Ida M., *The Tariff in Our Times*, 26.

must be paid in full and in specie as promised; and the tax system must be reformed so as to throw the burden of taxation upon import duties. The tariff provided a steady revenue in gold, it was easy to collect, and free from the abuses of income and other internal revenue taxes.

By the close of the war the tariff was more popular than any other form of taxation. Not only had manufacturers come to depend upon it to swell their profits but workers in general were deluded into thinking the tariff tax was paid by foreigners. They believed that without it factories would close and the home market would be swamped with cheaper agricultural and manufactured goods from abroad. The free trader's plan of geographic specialization, the fact that exports must be paid for with imports, and the inducement the protective system gave for cheating the Government were regarded as purely theoretical or untrue by the majority of Americans. Thus in 1866, when a readjustment of the debt made it possible to reduce taxes by \$85,000,000, people in general preferred to have the reduction applied to internal taxes rather than custom duties.²

We do not know Dana's sentiments regarding the Wool Bill of 1867, engineered through Congress by the promoter for the National Association of Wool Manufacturers. Its passage proved the effectiveness of lobbies.³ The Lake Superior Copper interests then asked similar favors of Congress in July, 1868. They at once encountered strong opposition; for if the duty of 25 per cent on copper ore were granted it would seriously injure or destroy various subsidiary industries, including ship-building, which depended upon the cheaper copper from abroad.

The provisions of this bill appeared in fine type on the front page of the *Sun*.⁴ No further mention of it was made until after it was passed over Johnson's veto in February, 1869. Dana then denounced it, not because he was opposed to protection on principle, but for fear that the excesses of protection would bring the system into discredit:

This bill is running the protective system into the ground. What is more, Congress knows it. What is worse, Congress will not vote its convictions. It votes what it knows it ought not to vote. . . . Is the reproach forever to be made that our Congressmen cannot give good, wholesome conscientious votes on public measures, such as their judgment dictates because of some such wretched reasons as prevailed in this instance? The Copper interest of Michigan is a

² Tarbell, 29.

³ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁴ July 2, 1868.

purely local and selfish interest, like the coal, and perhaps we might add the iron interest of Pennsylvania—though we reserve ourselves as to the latter—and clamor for higher duties, thinking they will supply a falling market. But the increased duty merely tends to destroy the market they now have, and many of the men who vote in favor of raising the duty know it. The friends of protection ought to have clearer views not only of their duty but of their interests, if they do not want to see, some day, the whole fabric go overboard.⁵

When it came to interfering in behalf of American shipping the *Sun* was willing that Congress should manipulate the tariff in either direction to prevent its further decline. Here Dana's national pride was involved. This was brought out in an editorial commenting on the testimony of shipping men before a Congressional Committee:

They all agree that the amount of tonnage of American vessels engaged in foreign commerce has fallen off greatly since the beginning of the late war; but when it comes to assigning reasons for this state of things, and suggesting a remedy for it, they are anything but unanimous. The ship-builders say that at present it costs too much to build ships here, but that if the duties and internal revenue taxes on the materials employed could be either taken off directly, or a drawback allowed to counter-balance them, they could build ships better and cheaper than their European rivals and thus restore the former preponderance of America on the ocean. The ship-owners, on the other hand, say that the dearth of American ships is the result of the higher wages paid to American mechanics and their remedy would be to repeal the laws which at present discriminate against foreign built ships, and allow such ships, when owned by American citizens, to be put on the same footing with ships built here. One party in a word wants free trade in the materials for ships, while the other wants free trade in ships themselves.

Between these two rival interests the patriotic American will have little difficulty in choosing on which to bestow his sympathies. If it be possible by reducing duties and taxes, to enable American shipbuilders to successfully compete with those of Europe, he would beyond all question prefer to adopt that policy rather than to let foreign-built ships come in and deprive American mechanics of employment. However plausible may be the theories of free traders, they cannot conceal the fact that the destruction of the ship-building business on this side of the Atlantic, as far as it has gone, is a national calamity; and if it were to go still further, so that our coasting vessels and even our ferry boats should be built abroad, it would greatly cripple our national strength. If anything is to be done, let us give up all attempt to collect revenue from the wood, metal and rigging of ships, and see if that will not restore life to our now idle shipyards. . . .⁶

⁵ The *Sun*, Feb. 26, 1869.

⁶ Oct. 18, 1869; see also, Apr. 28, 1870.

So far, the *Sun's* advocacy of protective tariff appeared to be motivated by concern for the growth and prestige of the United States and a desire to obtain sufficient Federal revenues. Dana had no special interests to protect. But his economic convictions put him on the side of those who did have. For the most part he appeared blind to the fact that the system fostered the very monopoly in business and corruption in government which he so genuinely deplored.

In 1870, a tariff-reduction measure was introduced into Congress. While it was under discussion the *Sun* said that "indirect taxation through the Custom House is preferable to direct taxation through the revenue officer," being "the easiest collected, the easiest borne, the most cheerfully paid, and . . . accompanied by the least fraud."⁷ When huge revenues were needed, it continued, people are not interested in "the abstract right or wrong of free trade and protection."⁸ "There is nothing," it declared, "but the coarse selfishness of special interests to be guarded against; and this can be done without any breaking of heads or violent personal attacks arising from heated partisanship."⁹ It maintained that when national expenditures were light it might be possible to apply "the doctrines of free trade," but not in the existing condition of the national debt:¹⁰

. . . We have a national debt of \$2,400,000,000 the interest on which is \$120,000,000 gold annually. In addition we have an expensive Administration to support. The nation requires to meet its obligations an income of \$300,000,000 at least. Shall this be raised by internal taxes or customs duties? Which the people prefer is no doubtful question. They emphatically hate the former and submit patiently to the latter. Therefore we must, whether we are free-traders or protectionists, levy on the average from forty to fifty per cent on all imported goods, That being a necessity which for many years to come cannot be avoided or changed, what nonsense to suppose that there can be any popular agitation or excitement on the subject of protection and free trade.¹¹

Ten days before, it had said, "Of course all material used by our manufacturers must, as far as possible, be exempt from duty; but with regard to every kind of commodity the only question should be; What will it bear?"¹² This was definitely a protectionist principle. Conse-

⁷ Mar. 25, 1870.

⁸ Apr. 30, 1870.

⁹ Apr. 5, 1870.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Apr. 30, 1870.

¹² Mar. 25, 1870.

quently Dana was incensed at the proposal to reduce the tariff on "articles of universal consumption," such as tea, coffee, and sugar. He regarded the protectionist slogan of a "Free breakfast table," just beginning to be popularized, as pure sentimentality:

The sentimental idea of exempting commodities like tea and coffee, because they are so generally used, is contrary to the first principles of common sense. The very universality of their use renders their taxation a matter of justice and sound policy, since thereby the tax is the most evenly distributed, and falls alike upon every citizen. Still more should luxuries like wines, liquors, and tobacco be taxed, and as heavily as possible, because the consumers of them are able and willing to pay.¹³

Later the *Sun* criticized the tariff reduction bill because it offered no encouragement to the ship-building industry, "of which the country was formerly so proud."¹⁴ And on April 30, it declared that "people at large take no sort of interest in the proposed issue." By way of proof it quoted the *Tribune*: "The dullness of the debate on the tariff bill indicates that *general interest is no longer felt in it* and that to all intents and purposes it is a lost measure." As it turned out, the half-hearted measure adopted on July 14, 1870, fully justified both journals. Although it reduced the internal revenue taxes and left the customs duties practically as they were,¹⁵ it failed even to please the *Sun*. It disappointed the tariff reformers and Western farmers still more.

These groups attributed the growing surplus in the treasury and the economic hardships of the West and South to the exorbitant tariff duties. Leaders of the Liberal Republican movement called for a thorough reduction of the tariff. The *Sun* deplored the surplus, but insisted that the country was suffering from excessive internal revenue taxes. It also maintained that the distress of Western farmers and the depression in the East were caused not by high tariff but by high taxes necessitated by the too rapid payment of the public debt.

Dana refused to believe that the revenue reformers were seriously intent on lowering the tariff. On November 7, 1870, he wrote:

Some of the papers are talking about a new political party, with revenue reform as the main if not the only plank in its platform . . . the *Evening Post*, Governor Brown and Senator Schurz of Missouri are mentioned as leading in

¹³ Mar. 25, 1870.

¹⁴ Apr. 28, 1870.

¹⁵ Taussig, F. W., *The Tariff History of the United States*, 178-179; Rhodes, James F., *History of the United States*, VI, 279-280.

this new movement. . . . It would be a great satisfaction to the minds of practical men if parties could be exactly divided upon the question of the tariff. For the last half century it has been the subject of constant and animated discussion . . . but it has never yet been squarely voted upon in any national election . . . in fact, the Revenue Reform movement is nothing but a symptom of that general revolt and universal derangement which President Grant's family government, incapacity and silly blundering have produced in the whole Republican body. Professing to aim at a reduction of the tariff and the approximation of our whole system of taxation to free-trade principles, the real object of this movement is to overthrow Grant.

It is so manifest that free trade is out of the question as long as the country is burdened with a vast debt and compelled to raise an enormous revenue, requiring at least an average of forty per cent duties upon all imports, that no sensible man can talk in earnest of adopting free trade.¹⁶

The subtleties of this editorial almost defy analysis. Giving to them the most obvious interpretation the editorial reveals four points of strategy: to prevent the tariff from becoming an issue in the presidential campaign of 1872; to induce the reformers to direct their energies against Grantism; to show the impossibility of adopting free trade; and to protect American manufacturers. This remained the *Sun's* program until the close of the Grant-Greeley Campaign. The nomination of the protectionist Greeley by the Liberal Republican party and later his endorsement by the Democrats dove-tailed perfectly with *Sun* objectives.¹⁷

After the election was over many Democrats were suffering qualms of remorse for having voted for a Protectionist, or were smarting from the taunts of those who preferred to shut their eyes and vote for Grant rather than to stultify their convictions and vote for Greeley. To soothe them, the *Sun* refuted the *World's* assertion that free trade was a cardinal tenet of the Democratic creed, declaring that Jackson had been a staunch Protectionist and there had "*never been . . . a Democratic candidate for President who avowed himself a free trader.*"¹⁸ Later it quoted Jefferson as calling the "internal tax" an "infernal tax." But the fiasco of the Liberal Republicans, coupled with the general satisfaction with the Acts of 1872, caused the subject to recede into the background for at least a decade.

One of the great problems of the time was the temptation to pay off the national debt more rapidly than was desirable.¹⁹ In two years, 1878–

¹⁶ Nov. 7, 1870.

¹⁷ Taussig, 189.

¹⁸ Nov. 11, 1872.

¹⁹ Noyes, Alexander D., *Forty Years of American Finance*, 88.

1880, it was reduced by almost \$100,000,000.²⁰ With bonds selling at a premium, this was expensive; furthermore, it enabled bondholders to profit at the expense of taxpayers. The *Sun* favored lower taxes, preferably by a drastic reduction of the internal revenue schedules. Already there was a movement in Congress for revision of the tariff, but this the *Sun* thought less desirable. Dana wrote:

Under the present policy of the Government the surplus for the year ending June 30, 1880, was \$90,000,000 and for the current year will be \$100,000,000. . . .

The measure which will naturally most commend itself to the sense of the nation is the reduction of taxation and the prolongation, at a reduced interest, of the funded debt. The taxes the removal of which would cause the least disturbance to industry are those now collected by the Internal Revenue Department, which, last year, were \$61,000,000 on spirits, \$39,000,000 on tobacco, \$13,000,000 on fermented liquors, \$7,500,000 on banks and bankers, making a total of \$124,000,000. If all these were abolished, the nation's revenue would, with the reduction of its interest account and the natural increase of its customs duties, still equal its expenditures, and an unnecessary army of officeholders and spies would be got rid of. Or, if it were thought desirable to diminish the duties on any class of imported articles, the tax on spirits could be retained at such a rate as would make up the difference.²¹

But the *Sun* could not eradicate the popular idea that the root of the surplus problem lay in the tariff system. Even protectionists like Dawes of Massachusetts were not adverse to a reasonable and non-partisan adjustment of duties.²²

In May, 1880, William M. Eaton, Democratic Senator from Connecticut, introduced a bill providing for a tariff commission of nine, appointed by the President from civil life, to investigate the revision of the existing tariff upon a scale of justice to all interests.²³ This passed the Senate but was not acted upon in the House. In his first annual message President Arthur revived the bill by giving it a qualified approval. Early in May, 1882, Congress passed it and on the 15th it was signed by the President.²⁴

In proposing the Commission Senator Eaton had hoped to divorce the tariff question from politics.²⁵ But the debates in Congress indicated that

²⁰ Stanwood, Edward, *American Tariff Controversies*, II, 202.

²¹ May 30, 1881.

²² Rhodes, VIII, 169.

²³ Stanwood, II, 202.

²⁴ Stanwood, II, 202-203; Rhodes, VIII, 171.

²⁵ Rhodes, VIII, 171-172.

it was regarded as a protectionist measure.²⁶ Many Democrats agreed with Senator Coke of Texas that a Commission appointed by a Republican President would merely whitewash the high tariff system; and that Congress should not relinquish its duty to provide for the revenues of the Government.²⁷ The *Sun* agreed, calling this "a wise opinion."²⁸ Later the Commission itself was attacked as a strong protectionist body. The *Sun* endorsed this accusation also:

The Tariff Commission which Congress proposes to institute is merely a device to put off all revision of the tariff and keep duties just where they are. When the Commission has been organized and has spent its time and the public money in arriving at its conclusions, does anybody suppose that Congress will take any of them without thorough examination and protracted debate?²⁹

Later the *Sun* denounced the bill passed by the Senate creating the tariff Commission as "a delusive project." This proved only too true. But, it was not due to lack of effort on the part of President Arthur to find men qualified to serve on the Commission. William A. Wheeler declined, as did other prominent men.³⁰ In the end it was necessary to go into the strongholds of the protected interests by making John L. Hayes, Secretary of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, chairman.³¹

Before the Commission was fully made up, readers of the *Sun* knew how scornfully it regarded the plan. Nevertheless, they must have been unprepared for the philippic which was now directed not so much against the Commissioners as against the protective system itself:

This Commission is nothing but a trick of legislation to prevent any thorough revision of the tariff during the present Administration. That fact is written plainly between the lines of the law, and it was disclosed in the debate while the bill was pending.

Four years of assured postponement are estimated to be worth four or five hundred millions to the parties interested in maintaining the present duties. They could well afford to pay largely for any contrivance of delay; and the Commission was invented and was put through for that object only, while the inventors of it, and their agents, and their lobby of ex-Congressmen, were professing a great willingness to have the tariff revised!

²⁶ *Ibid*, 169.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 169-170.

²⁸ Dec. 21, 1881.

²⁹ Feb. 10, 1882.

³⁰ Stanwood, II, 203.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 204.

All the information that any Commission can possibly collect is within reach of the Committee on Ways and Means. At last it must come from the census reports, from the Bureau of Statistics, and from other official sources. The bulk of this information, in a multitude of forms, was developed in the long debate on the Commission bill, which though able, disclosed nothing that has not been known ever since the tariff was originally discussed in Congress, except the application of old principles to new experience.

The Committee of Ways and Means, with a decided majority of extreme protectionists, headed by William D. Kelly, and with the power to report a bill at any time, did not abdicate their functions and adopt this strategic scheme without a full knowledge of what they were doing. They could not have framed a measure which could possibly pass Congress that would give to the monopolists the profits and advantages that the existing system secures to them.

The tariff created by the exigencies of the war, when it was indispensable to collect enormous revenue to meet the daily outlay, is maintained in full vigor. The excessive income derived from this oppressive taxation, and from the odious internal revenue laws, has gathered into the Treasury a surplus of one hundred and fifty millions of dollars as the prize for contending Rings and jobbers and plunderers of every degree.³²

This exposé of the protective tariff system must have made *Sun* readers doubt their senses. Instead of the Tariff being merely a convenient, necessary, and fair method of raising revenue, it was now a diabolical device by which monopolies reaped exorbitant profit from the helpless public. Had the *Sun* turned reformer? Or was this another instance where it saw the reform needed but refused to be reformer? What Senator Eaton had regarded purely as an economic policy had suddenly been converted into a moral problem of far-reaching social consequences. The *Sun* was never afraid to speak the truth. Why then had it not suggested drastic tariff reform a year earlier?

The *Sun's* opinion was generally shared by tariff reformers. The Commissioners were believed to be not only tools of "special interest," but men of slight ability.³³ Consequently the recommendations presented in their report to Congress, December 4, 1882, came as a complete surprise.³⁴ They called for reductions averaging from 20 to 25 percent.³⁵

The *Sun* completely ignored the Report of the Tariff Commission on its editorial page, although it praised President Arthur's message and

³² May 30, 1882; Sept. 16, 1882.

³³ Rhodes VIII, 172-173; Oberholtzer, E. P., *History of the United States*, IV, 145-146.

³⁴ Rhodes VIII, 174.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 175; Stanwood, II, 206.

the Treasury report which accompanied it.³⁶ Readers would have supposed that it was the Secretary of the Treasury who "earnestly recommends a careful revision of the tariff, with a view to substantial reduction," rather than the Tariff Commissioners.³⁷ The next day's editorial, "Whiskey and Tobacco," was likewise devoted exclusively to the recommendations of the President and the Treasury upon the internal revenue taxes:

The Secretary of the Treasury advises that the internal revenue taxes on spirits, beer and tobacco be maintained; the President advises that the tax on spirits alone be maintained and all others abolished.

The advice of Gen. Arthur is much wiser than that of Judge Folger.

For our part, we think the whole internal revenue system is an abomination. We would wipe it out altogether, and go back to the mode of supporting the Federal Government which was in use before the war. But if any of these hateful taxes is to be preserved, it is clearly that on spirits.

Not till the third day was the tariff discussed, and then only to prove that if all internal revenue taxes save those on spirits were abolished, as they should be, it would be impossible to "reduce the tariff at the same time." Therefore, Congress would be wise if it "abolishes the whole of the internal revenue system with the exception mentioned, and leaves to another Congress the task of revising the tariff to rational and practicable proportions."³⁸

The protectionists had no intention of entrusting the tariff revision to the Democrats who would control the next House. They agreed with the *Sun* that the shrewd course was to reduce taxation by abolishing internal revenue duties rather than lowering the tariff. Consequently the tariff act adopted at the eleventh hour on March 3, 1883, left all the inequalities, incongruities, and excessive rates of the existing tariff intact, while making drastic reductions in the internal revenue taxes.³⁹

The *Sun* had followed the disagreements of the "tariff doctors" in Congress with derisive relish; offering advice on "how to settle the tariff" and predicting that "no real relief is to be expected."⁴⁰ It scored the Republicans roundly for their tariff bill, pointing out that it differed materially from the one recommended by the Tariff Commission:

³⁶ Dec. 5, 1882.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Dec. 7, 1882.

³⁹ Rhodes, III, 179; n. 179.

⁴⁰ Jan. 29; Feb. 8; Feb. 14; 1883.

Whose fault is it if there shall be no tariff legislation at this session? . . .

At the last moment the Republican managers bring in a scheme, which has been well described as a bill "to reduce the revenue by increasing taxation," and they have tried to drive it through by a forcible process, which would break down all the safeguards of liberty and gag free speech.

Mr. Carlisle in his recent speech said: "If that Commission had prepared and reported a bill, or if the Committee of Ways and Means had prepared and reported a bill, making an average reduction of even twenty per cent, in the rates justly and equitably apportioned among all the articles subject to duty so as to make an actual reduction of taxation to that extent, I would have given it my support; and I believe it safe to say that every advocate of revenue reform on this side of the House would have done the same thing." . . .

This fair proposition opens the door to a settlement of the vexed question, and would insure, if adopted, a release from agitation for years to come. . . . But there is little hope that the majority will be wise enough to improve the opportunity.⁴¹

A week later the *Sun* drew upon statistics to show that "under the operation of the present iniquitous tariff and the internal revenue abomination" the average rate of taxation in the fiscal year just ending was "over seven dollars" per capita. Yet "the cry for relief" has attracted "no notice from the party which has had the power to grant a remedy." "Now, on the eve of an expiring Congress . . . none of the three" bills⁴² under consideration "gives substantial relief to the sufferers who need it most": "Hence the situation may be summed up briefly and conclusively: The bills before Congress reduce some of the present duties, but *in every important instance they increase taxation.*"⁴³

On the day the bill became law it was not mentioned in the *Sun*. Two weeks later appeared an editorial on "Free Trade in Politics," telling the revenue reformers that their labors were useless:

It is by no means improbable that the next election of President may turn upon the question of free trade or protection. The Republicans mean to have it so if they can; and there are plenty of Democrats who wish to accommodate them. . . .

From the beginning we should all know that the decision would be against our gallant and uncompromising free traders; but nevertheless, their struggle would possess the peculiar charm that always belongs to the efforts of clever

⁴¹ Feb. 8, 1883.

⁴² These three bills were Morrill's report from the Senate Finance Committee, the bill introduced into the House by the Ways and Means Committee and the one recommended by the Tariff Commission.

⁴³ Feb. 14, 1883.

and earnest men contending against heavy odds and fighting a battle that is sure to end in their defeat. . . .⁴⁴

And the *Sun* shortly inquired if the tariff battle should be continued when "our free trade friends . . . know as well as everybody else that there is no present possibility of changing the tariff. . . . Before any such change can be effected, there must be a Democratic Senate and a Democratic President." But was there to be no relief from excessive taxation? ⁴⁵ The *Sun* ended with the conclusion which it consistently maintained for almost thirty years: ". . . the revenues necessary for the support of the Government and the payment of the public debt should be derived exclusively from duties upon imports."

On April 18, 1883, the *Sun* summarized its doctrine on the tariff under the following points:

- I. Let the tariff be for revenue. It will then be protective also.
- II. Let the revenue tariff be the only source of revenue.
- III. Let all internal taxes be abolished at once, except only the tax on spirits.
- IV. Let the tax on spirits be retained only to meet the necessity of means to pay arrearages of pensions. When those arrearages are provided for let the spirit tax be likewise abolished.

These "harmonious principles" were repeated over and over, but the *Sun* was not very convincing. Dana must have known that a tariff for revenue is not necessarily a protective tariff. If the tariff were to be the sole means of revenue, as the *Sun* advocated, it was bound to foster the very monopolies which it condemned. Whenever low tariff journals attempted to draw the *Sun* into a discussion of the broad economic aspects of the question they were assured that it too believed in free trade, just as it believed in universal peace, in abolishing armies and navies, or in a system of society "free from poverty, free from police, and free from jails." While such "Utopian" ends were not "fantastic," they could be attained only "by a very slow and gradual revolution." To Dana, believing in "entire freedom of trade as in every other kind of freedom," other objectives seemed "more immediately desirable."⁴⁶

Once more, Dana's logic was not very convincing. While free traders were willing to help on the "gradual revolution," which he claimed de-

⁴⁴ Mar. 17, 1883.

⁴⁵ Mar. 26, 1883.

⁴⁶ May 5, 1882.

sirable and inevitable, the *Sun* was not. Its whole course had been inconsistent. Just after the war, when the first steps were being taken to treat the tariff as an economic problem, the *Sun* had condemned the viciousness of the entire protective system but had nevertheless insisted it must be maintained. Then after denouncing the tariff bill of 1883, it advised the Democrats not to attempt another measure, but to see how the act worked out, knowing full well that it would not correct one evil. It is not surprising that some *Sun* readers were confused. Yet when a correspondent asked, "Why, when you claim to be independent, . . . do you persistently dodge the tariff question?" Its only reply was:

We do not discuss the tariff because, as a theoretical question, there is nothing new to be said concerning it, while as a practical question there is nothing at all to be said at present. The existing tariff has got to stand in its main features until experience shows what it will produce. The idea of any radical change in it until its results are demonstrated is a preposterous idea, and we do not wish to waste time and labor upon that which can have no consequence.⁴⁷

Perhaps the chief factor in the *Sun's* capriciousness in regard to tariff reduction was its conviction that while the country could prosper under an "iniquitous tariff" system it would perish under an iniquitous political system. The Republican party, the party of Grantism and Fraud, must be turned out of office; but this could never be accomplished so long as the Democrats sacrificed their chances on the altar of free trade. The campaign of 1880 had settled that point.⁴⁸ In other words, the tariff issue was regarded primarily from the standpoint of political expediency.

In 1883, and early in 1884, the *Sun* bent all its energy to preventing the Democratic party from falling into the Republican "trap" "of making the tariff an issue in the Presidential campaign."⁴⁹ It interpreted John Sherman's frank disgust with the Act of 1883,⁵⁰ and his desire to have the tariff question submitted to a national referendum, as a ruse to defeat the Democrats:

. . . This would suit them very much better than the issue of reform, of expelling the rascals who now run riot in every department of the Government, of driving away the blood suckers that feed upon the Treasury of the country,

⁴⁷ Oct. 3, 1883.

⁴⁸ Oct. 20, 1880; July 1, 1884.

⁴⁹ May 31, 1883.

⁵⁰ *Sherman's Recollections*, II, 845; 852; 861-862.

of making the whole Administration honest and decent.

If the Republicans could select for themselves the battle ground of 1884, they would have a much better chance of winning and perpetuating their own tenure of power, than they could possibly have when the ground is chosen by the people, wearied and disgusted by Republican corruption in every branch of the public service.

Mr. Sherman is a smart politician, and he has some reason to count upon the fact that in the Democratic party, as in every other, there is a proportion of foolish and hot-headed men; but we do not think he will be gratified in this matter.

The great and overtopping issue is clearing out the den of thieves.⁵¹

Among the "foolish and hot-headed men" in the Democratic House were Carlisle and Morrison. The *Sun* said indignantly that both "have attempted to narrow the party's creed to the issue of the tariff." "This would be a fatal step for the party because of the large number who embrace the broad principles of Democracy but are as opposed to an uncompromising stand for Free Trade as opposed to protection."⁵² The determination of the Free Traders to read the protectionists out of the party inspired the *Sun* to a parable upon the dog that started for Chicago with a tin can tied to its tail:

. . . They fared along together, not without considerable discomfort and apprehension on the part of the head of the procession. The tin can being empty, made much noise as it rattled over the rubble; and at last the dog, slightly turning his head, remarked in a mildly remonstrating voice, "It strikes me you are a good deal of a nuisance on an expedition of this sort," whereupon the tin can reddened almost to the color of the tomatoes it had formerly contained, and retorted with some heat, "The sooner the break comes the better, I hereby read you out of the Animal Kingdom!"⁵³

The protectionist element in the Democratic party was probably not as strong as the *Sun* made out. Yet in 1893-1895, when both Houses and the President were Democratic, there was enough sentiment in the party to prevent any genuine reduction. The *Sun* pointed to this group in its efforts to prevent the Democrats from making the tariff an issue in 1884. Later it pointed to them as evidence that the Democracy was by inheritance and practice a protectionist party.⁵⁴ The existence of a protectionist clique among the Democrats was an excuse for supporting the

⁵¹ June 19, 1883.

⁵² Jan. 29, 1884.

⁵³ Mar. 21, 1884.

⁵⁴ Aug. 4, 1884.

party in the Presidential campaign of 1888 and at the same time condemning Cleveland's Free Trade Manifesto.

On February 4, 1884, Morrison introduced his bill calling for a horizontal reduction of the tariff. The *Sun* viewed it with suspicion and scorn: "Is it a revenue only bill? No. Is it a protectionist bill? No. Is it a bill for principle? No. Well, then, what is it. It looks like a bill of trickery; but let us wait and see."⁵⁵ The bill met strong resistance in the House from Democrats as well as Republicans. Both sides criticized the plan of horizontal reduction by a straight cut of 20 per cent on all import duties. Such a plan, declared the *Sun*, fails to pay "the slightest heed to what has been so fiercely denounced as the irregularities, the inequalities, and the injustices of the Tariff."⁵⁶ Furthermore, it did not touch "on the problem of internal revenue," a most serious defect.⁵⁷ Even Watterson called it the "horizontal deception" bill;⁵⁸ and the *Sun* predicted that if it should pass its "only practical result would be a pretty severe horizontal reduction of the Democratic vote next November."⁵⁹ Later, when the bill met defeat at the hands of Randall, the *Sun* regarded this as conclusive proof that if the Democratic party should make the next Presidential fight on that question it would be beaten.

In March, 1884, J. Sterling Morton, of the Democratic National Committee, asked the *Sun* "to show why tariff for revenue only will not be a good Democratic platform plank." It replied without hesitation:

Our great objection to the platform which Mr. Morton proposes is that it is not possible with it to win the election of 1884, or that of 1888. It would divide the party which is the worst thing that could happen to it on the eve of an election.⁶⁰

Although the Democrats dropped the free trade issue, adopting instead a tariff plank⁶¹ in every way acceptable to the *Sun*, they made the "monstrous blunder" of nominating Grover Cleveland for President.⁶² Dana's desire to chastise the Republicans was equalled only by his determination to defeat the Mugwump Moses. He was pictured to *Sun* readers as

⁵⁵ Feb. 5, 1884.

⁵⁶ Apr. 7, 1884.

⁵⁷ Apr. 15, 1884.

⁵⁸ Apr. 7, 1884.

⁵⁹ May 6, 1884.

⁶⁰ May 13, 1884.

⁶¹ Mar. 1, 1884.

⁶² Stanwood, II, 222-223; *The Sun*, July 12, 1884.

a free trader in disguise⁶³ and an enemy of the working people.⁶⁴

Now that Dana could no longer look to the Democrats to purge the nation of Republican corruption, he turned to the candidate of the heretofore ridiculed Greenback party as the only standard-bearer fit to carry its banner of "Reform." This party, which had not the intelligence to distinguish between the promise to pay a dollar and the dollar itself, which deceived working people with its false theories regarding inflation, which had been reported declining in 1879 and "dying" in 1882,⁶⁵ had unexpectedly revived in time to be of service in the *Sun's* crusade for the defeat of Cleveland and the reform of everything except the tariff:

There is one candidate for the Presidency whose election would tear up these evils root and branch. Under his hands, reform would be real, effective, and resiless; and the name of this man is Benjamin F. Butler.⁶⁶

The recognition of the protective principle in the tariff plank of the Democratic platform, coupled with Cleveland's unwillingness to discuss the subject, removed it as a practical issue from the campaign. Yet the *Sun* kept trying to force Cleveland to commit himself as Hancock had done, and insisted to the very end that the tariff was the "decisive question."⁶⁷ Dana wrote just before the election:

. . . It would seem impossible that the control of this country should be taken at this election, and without greater agitation and preparation than we have witnessed, out of the hands of those who favor protection, and placed with those whose avowed purpose is to convert our present policy into a system of free trade. We think Grover Cleveland is beaten.⁶⁸

The defeat of the Morrison bill and Cleveland's seeming lack of interest in the tariff question silenced for the time being the controversy over free trade. The void was quickly filled by the reappearance of the silver issue. The disappearing Treasury reserve, the decreasing revenue receipts, the alarming scarcity of gold, and the commercial distress caused by the minor panic of 1884 again forced the question upon public attention.

A return to temporary prosperity in 1886 rapidly swelled the Customs

⁶³ Jan. 29, 1884.

⁶⁴ Sept. 25; Sept. 28; Oct. 11, 1884.

⁶⁵ Nov. 18, 1879.

⁶⁶ Aug. 16, 1884.

⁶⁷ Oct. 28, 1884.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

receipts and revived the tariff issue. A surplus again accumulated and again was seized upon by tariff reformers to support their arguments for a reduction in duties. The Mugwumps, especially, were opposed to what they considered a merciless spoliation of the poor. Big capitalists were highly protected, monopolies flourished, business interests controlled Congress, and the poor paid a premium on the barest necessities of life. Pressure from both sides of the controversy, within the ranks of the Democrats and without, was brought to bear upon President Cleveland.

Despite the approach of his campaign for re-election, Cleveland devoted his entire annual message of 1887 to the need of Tariff reform.⁶⁹ Although his statements regarding the redundancy of the revenue were an indictment of the protective system, he stated clearly that he was pleading neither for nor against any particular doctrine. It was "a condition" which confronted the nation and not "a theory"; one requiring the immediate reduction of the tariff.⁷⁰ "The President," declared the *Sun*, "deserves credit for the plainness of his speech. Nobody can accuse him of hedging, or haggling, or juggling with words."⁷¹ Considering the strength of the forces of industry, the differences within his own party, the approaching elections, his step was bold, indeed. It was also foolish, declared the *Sun*.⁷²

But there were Democrats in Congress who were more interested in "conditions" confronting the country than immediate political advantage. Carlisle had appointed Roger Q. Mills, an evowed free trader, chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means. All his party associates on the Committee were in favor of gradual tariff reduction for the benefit of the people without regard to the manufacturing interests. The measure eventually framed, known as the Mills' Bill, was reported to the House on April 2, 1888. By its provisions raw materials were transferred to the free list, *ad valorem* duties were substituted for specific duties, and protective duties in general were reduced.⁷³ Debate continued at intervals from the middle of April to July 19, and together with Cleveland's tariff message inspired the *Sun* to variations of its favorite theme: the superiority of reducing the surplus by abolishing the internal

⁶⁹ Stanwood, II, 226.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 227-228.

⁷¹ Dec. 2, 1887.

⁷² *Ibid.*; See also, Jan. 1, 1888.

⁷³ Stanwood, II, 230-234.

revenue taxes. Later when a proposal for internal revenue reduction was appended as "the tail to Mills' kite," the *Sun* said: ". . . It gives some steadiness to the whole construction, but when the kite comes down, the tail will come with it. Begin with the internal revenue. Experiment with the customs duties afterward, if necessary." ⁷⁴ Consequently the Randall Bill which "begins at the right end . . . with the internal revenue" was regarded as "an honest measure of surplus reduction." ⁷⁵ The provision of the Mills' Bill placing certain kinds of manufactured lumber on the free list and reducing the duties upon wool and iron were pronounced "political insanity." "These three industries," the *Sun* asserted, "give employment [in New York State] to 120,000 voters, and the wages paid them amount annually to \$75,000,000." ⁷⁶

Toward the end of May Dana was gratified to learn that some Democrats in the House were "reforming the Mills' tariff" by taking many articles away from the free list.

It must be very astonishing to Mr. Mills . . . to find that so many Democratic Congressmen who are free traders on general principles are ardent protectionists when it comes to reforming those parts of the tariff which directly and pecuniarily concern themselves and their constituents. . . .⁷⁷

The *Sun* encouraged every defection from low tariff which manifested itself within the Democracy. The revenue reformers, it claimed, did not represent the true sentiments of the rank and file within the party. When Carlisle was reported as saying "the Democracy do not believe in free trade," the *Sun* asked:

Does this faithfully describe the situation?

We believe that it does, at least until a more powerful revolution than any yet apparent shall have mastered the Democratic party.

But an absolutely conclusive denial would be the abandonment of the Mills bill in the House and the adoption of such a plan as has been proposed by the Hon. Sam Randall. . . .⁷⁸

When the Mills Bill finally passed the House, the *Sun* warned the Democrats that its provision for free wool would be regarded by the country at large as the main plank in the party platform for the coming

⁷⁴ Mar. 8, 1888.

⁷⁵ Mar. 12, 1888.

⁷⁶ Apr. 10, 1888; see also, Apr. 23, June 20, 1888.

⁷⁷ May 28, 1888.

⁷⁸ June 30, 1888.

campaign. "There will have to be a tremendous materialization and vivification of the spirit of Democracy to support the specific gravity of a platform such as that," ⁷⁹ it jeered.

The counter tariff bill being prepared by the Republicans in the Senate ⁸⁰ received the hearty support of the *Sun*:

We have proposed that the Democrats in Congress should take the Senate Republicans at their word, and adopt and pass the Senate Tariff Bill, as the only immediately practicable measure of revenue reduction. . . .

Some say that the adoption of the Senate bill would be political cowardice and inconsistency; some say it would be political suicide. The truth is that for weeks the wisdom of the course now recommended by the *Sun* has been recognized by Democratic leaders eminent for sagacity and for unswerving loyalty to the party's interests.

The argument for the adoption of the Senate bill is doubly strong in view of the fact that the measure promises a more extensive and certain reduction of revenue than the Mills bill, and with much less disturbance to the interests of the American producers and manufacturers.⁸¹

Despite the *Sun's* admonition, the Mills Bill was one of the major issues in the presidential campaign of 1888. The Democrats stood squarely upon it while it was scathingly denounced by McKinley in the name of the Republican party. On the eve of the election the *Sun* wrote:

The difference between Mr. Mills and the protectionists is that, while they think that protection raises wages, and in the case of this country particularly that it makes the workingman substantially better off than he would be without it, Mr. Mills holds that the true secret of raising wages is to establish free trade.

This is an intelligible issue, but, if it is to be settled by the evidence of experience, Mr. Mills will have to give it up. If there is a country in existence where the laboring man, with all his troubles is so well to do as in this protected country, it is in some region of the globe which is as yet unknown and unexplored.⁸²

The Senate did not act upon the Mills Bill until after the election, then passed a substitute bill of their own. As the two Houses could not agree, the session ended without any tariff legislation.⁸³ Discussion lasted until the end of January, 1889, and was closely followed in the *Sun*. Cleveland's defeat at the polls had enabled it to tell the Democrats repeatedly how

⁷⁹ July 22, 1888.

⁸⁰ Tarbell, 168-180.

⁸¹ Oct. 12, 1888.

⁸² Nov. 1, 1888.

⁸³ Stanwood, II, 240-242; Rhodes, VIII, 318.

foolish they had been not to take its advice and drop the Mills Bill. If the party would concentrate upon abolishing the internal revenue system and leave the free trade issue alone it would not only serve the interests of the country but the Democracy as well. Certainly the Free Traders had demonstrated the folly of their ideas. All tariff reformers, so it told its readers, were free traders sailing "under false colors":

Aware that free trade is detested by a majority of the American people, they go before the people not in their real character as enemies of protection but in the milder guise as tariff reformers. They have seldom the courage to declare on the stump the full extent of their views, or to admit that their real aim is to reform the tariff altogether by striking all the protection out of it.⁸⁴

When Harrison came into power, the new Ways and Means Committee set to work under William McKinley to remove the word "cheap" from the American vocabulary by framing a tariff measure that would enrich all at the expense of the foreigner.⁸⁵ The *Sun* was greatly disappointed that of the \$60,000,000 annual reduction in the revenue proposed by the bill "only from 17 million to 19 million" was to be taken from internal revenue taxes, which as a matter of fact contributed more to the surplus proportionately than the customs duties and for that reason "should be the principal object of attack." But after all, said the *Sun*, "it makes no practical difference" whether it "would reduce the revenue by sixty millions or increase it by twelve":

. . . The bill is for buncombe. It will be put forward next week to make a show of redeeming a Convention pledge, not with a serious view to passing it and settling the tariff question. The Republican leaders are equipped with heads too long and broad to desire a settlement of the tariff question before the Presidential election of 1892.⁸⁶

As debate on the new tariff bill dragged, the *Sun* became impatient. Dana did not admire McKinley, nor fully trust him. In July, 1890, he was characterized in a leading editorial as the "real friend of free trade" because of his proposal to remove the tariff on sugar:

To cut off what was supposed at the time to be a source of superfluous revenue, Mr. McKinley proposed to make sugar free, without gaining any compensating benefit for American industry.

⁸⁴ Feb. 24, 1889.

⁸⁵ Rhodes, VIII, 346-348.

⁸⁶ Apr. 12, 1890.

That is the free trade principle—tariff for revenue only and larger or smaller duties according to the amount of revenue, needed for the support of the government.⁸⁷

Two months later, still more irritated, the *Sun* said;

The people are weary of the old balderdash. Tariff reform fades away in the presence of the new and living issues which have come forward since the meeting of Congress. The Republican orators who will defend and the Democratic orators who will denounce the Republican policy of revolution and centralization will not fail to attract and move their audiences.

This is 1890 and not 1888; and the spouters about tariff, and nothing but the tariff, belong to the department of ancient history.⁸⁸

In October, 1890, when the McKinley Bill was practically completed, the *Sun* predicted it might "prove a more effectual argument against the Republicans than all the statistics and eloquence of the tariff spouters":

. . . The price of living has undoubtedly advanced. This rise of price applies, to be sure, to some articles which are not affected by that bill. . . . But, be the causes what they may, there is an increased cost of goods as an actual fact which the Republicans must explain. . . .

Political economists will explain the fact by saying that a boom has come, and is still coming in trade and manufacture, and optimists may predict that everybody is going to make money. Unfortunately for the Republicans there is hardly time enough before November for the new manufactories to go up, or for a rise of wages to correspond with the rise of prices. . . .

. . . if every man who finds that he has got to pay more for his goods next winter than he paid last winter should vote against the Republican party, great might be the fall thereof. At any rate the Democrats have a plausible and perhaps an effectual argument in the rise of prices. So have the Republicans, but have they time enough to make their argument good? A small pinch of the pocketbook makes a great howl.⁸⁹

The prediction of the *Sun* came true. The people went to the polls in November to register dissatisfaction with the Republican party. This was the year of the "Billion dollar force and fraud Congress," which provided a shocking illustration of the evils of a surplus revenue. The McKinley Tariff of 1890 extended the protective system considerably beyond the limits imposed to meet the emergency of the Civil War. The high wages and good times promised by the act had not materialized, a

⁸⁷ July 28, 1890.

⁸⁸ Sept. 30, 1890.

⁸⁹ Oct. 17, 1890.

fact which greatly strengthened the arguments of Democrats against it. There was also much public antagonism toward trusts and monopolies, which the Democrats and Populists attributed to the tariff. While one side grew excited over pauper wages, monster trusts, and bloated capitalists, the other waxed sentimental over protection to American industries, the American laborer and the American standard of living.⁹⁰ Although the *Sun* stood firmly by its protective principles during the campaign, after it was over, it accused McKinley of formulating his plea for tariff revision with the "mathematical precision of a school teacher," saying: "There was no touch of the imagination in Congressman McKinley's academic list of duties upon foreign imports. His final schedules assumed a sort of cast iron aspect which, at the first contemplation, seemed to be more repellent than attractive."⁹¹

Democratic victory was regarded as a popular mandate for tariff reform, but Congress gave its first attention to repeal of the Silver Purchase Act. It was not until November, 1893, that a tariff measure drafted under William L. Wilson, was presented. By no means the dream of a Free Trader, had it been enacted as originally drawn up, a distinct change would have been affected in our general tariff policy.⁹² Reductions were made in many schedules; most raw materials were placed on the free list. The *Sun* pronounced it a "fraud, an infamy and an insult";⁹³ and while it was being considered in the House, published a series of attacks. It declared that since the measure had put the natural products of Canada on the free list, it had robbed the Annexationists of their strongest argument. "We get nothing, and give everything," it argued. "It is the American miners, lumbermen, fishermen, and farmers who will have to foot the bill."⁹⁴ The bill was a "hybrid," being neither protection nor free trade, and thus insulting to the Democracy. But since the Democrats had a majority of nearly two to one in the House, it passed with reasonable alacrity.

The Senate was to be its death chamber. Here it was given a frigid welcome even by Cleveland's own party. The silver controversy had been especially divisive in the Senate, while high tariff lobbyists had long been at work. Senator Hill, angry at the President for his course in New

⁹⁰ Taussig, 286.

⁹¹ Nov. 10, 1892.

⁹² Taussig, 289.

⁹³ Nov. 29, 1893.

⁹⁴ Nov. 30, 1893.

York State appointments, intended to put every obstacle in its way; and like the *Sun*, asserted that the income tax provision was a "Populist" measure. Drastic amendments were applied both while the bill was in committee and after it was brought before the Senate on February 2, 1894. During the next five months some six hundred changes were made in favor of various interests. And then in an emasculated condition it was sent back to the House.

The President wished to improve the bill and if possible secure its passage. He wrote a letter to Wilson early in July, urging the importance of admitting raw materials free, especially coal and iron, and stating that for the House to approve the Senate bill in its present form would be an act of "party perfidy and party dishonor."⁹⁵ Consequently when four weeks later the House was obliged to take the bill practically as it was or fail altogether the *Sun* greeted its passage as "Perfidy Day in the House," saying:

The House having thus surrendered and accepted the party dishonor that follows party perfidy, and having asserted its doubtful claim to the possession of the Tariff bill and its right to pass the same and send it directly to the President, if Mr. Cleveland, in his turn, should take a hand in the perfidy and accept his share of the dishonor by signing the bill he has denounced, or by otherwise permitting it to become a law, on what issue will the Democracy go into the campaign soon to open for the control of the Fifty-fourth Congress

God preserve the party that goes to the people with such a record of perfidy, such a confession of dishonor.⁹⁶

From its first public appearance on November 27, 1893, until it became a law without the President's signature, the *Sun* pursued it. One would think to read his editorials, that Dana was the avenging angel of a tariff for revenue-only-cult. No more effective way of killing the bill could have been devised. The country, as the *Sun* knew, had a right to expect a drastic reduction of the tariff and an equal right to denounce, if not reject outright, the Senate travesty. Although Dana's chief grievance was the income tax provision and the retention of internal revenue taxes, he displayed indignation chiefly over its failure to provide the country with a tariff for revenue only. Democrats, the *Sun* advised, should "take the Wilson bill and wring its scurvy neck. Make a bill for an honest and uniform tariff for revenue only."⁹⁷ In April, the *Sun* declared that

⁹⁵ Nevins, Allan, *Cleveland*, 581.

⁹⁶ Aug. 14, 1894.

⁹⁷ Jan. 19, 1894.

"the most absurd of all follies" was the notion that the Wilson Bill would "bring rest to the country's business and restore prosperity,"⁹⁸ "Instead of embodying the simple and all-settling principle of constitutional force expressed in a tariff for revenue only it is a cranky and eccentric absurdity."⁹⁹

Before long the *Sun* was resorting to the "Red" bogey. The Wilson Bill was "not for a tariff for revenue only," but "a measure for the promotion of the anti-Democratic, anti-American communistic spirit which has created the party known as Populist":

Explanation full and unmistakable of the shocking failure of the Democracy on the one hand and this revolutionary betrayal of the country into the preliminaries of communism on the other, is found in the last Executive message from the White House. They are both directly and solely attributable to Grover Cleveland.¹⁰⁰

This referred to Cleveland's approval of the income tax provision, construed by the *Sun* as proof that he had betrayed the Democratic party to the Populists.

After Cleveland allowed the bill to become a law without his signature, the *Sun* headed an editorial "Vetoed":

Yesterday, August 27, 1894, President Cleveland vetoed the Democracy's fundamental law. It was the only thing he vetoed. A bill continuing and perpetuating unconstitutional protection in its most odious form, with the Populist income tax added, passed at the same time into the statutes with his knowledge and consent.

The perfidy is accomplished and the dishonor is complete, Grover Cleveland has vetoed the Democratic platform.¹⁰¹

Passage of the Wilson-Gorman Tariff Act brought only disaster to the Cleveland Administration. People who had looked to the President for genuine tariff reform felt they had been betrayed. Others, who rejoiced that the Act had failed to revise the tariff, blamed it for the diminishing gold reserve. The fall elections of 1894 resulted in a Republican Congress. "The author of the Wilson bill," said the *Sun*, "has been defeated for re-

⁹⁸ Apr. 11, 1894.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ May 20, 1894.

¹⁰¹ Aug. 28, 1894.

election, and a large number of Congressmen who favored the income tax will remain at home.”¹⁰²

Late in November the Treasury resorted to a second bond issue. The delay in passing the Wilson Tariff Act had helped to deplete the gold reserve; the insufficient revenue yielded by it was to contribute to still a third crisis. Dana was indignant, and as usual took out his resentment on the President rather than those responsible for the iniquities of the Wilson Act:

If Grover Cleveland had been an honest man, and if his political friends in Congress had also been honest, we should have had today a tariff for revenue only. We should then have had revenue enough, and there would not be a featherweight of strain on the finances of the United States. If now these gentlemen should experience reform and become honest, they would confess their fault before night was over, and begin on the morrow to make the revenue fit the expenses; and the deficiency which is now playing the devil with us, would disappear.

It is our absolute conviction that the tariff could be reformed immediately so as to accomplish this result; and we believe that the performance would be as magnificent for the regeneration of American politics as the fraud of a tariff for deficiency has proved disgraceful and damaging.¹⁰³

Throughout the remaining months of Cleveland's Administration Dana used the Wilson-Gorman Act, without doubt one of the President's sorest disappointments, as a means of making his life miserable. The *Sun* maintained that under the "bewildering absurdity" known as the Wilson tariff, there had been a "total deficit in the revenue" of "nearly \$200,000,000," with a deficit of "over \$60,000,000 promised for the fiscal year ending in June, 1897. This was the "bankruptcy" tariff prepared by the Cleveland Administration "even after Secretary Carlisle had petitioned Congress in 1894 for funds to make good the deficit in the revenue then existing":

Nevertheless, that period has seen a certain number of philosophers howling for currency reform as the country's only deliverance, (with) the Hon. Grover Cleveland, the author of the deficit, maintaining that the \$262,000,000 of Cleveland bonds represented nothing but a glorious defense of the gold standard, and, at the close, the New York Chamber of Commerce to give Mr. Cleveland a dinner to celebrate his greatness and virtue as a public man.

An intelligent foreigner, contemplating the sober Mugwump reception of

¹⁰² Nov. 7, 1894.

¹⁰³ Feb. 2, 1895.

these crude absurdities, might conclude that the American people had turned a somersault and had not yet got back to their feet. In the words of the costermonger who saw his apples kicked all over the street, "There ain't no bloody word fer it." ¹⁰⁴

From the McKinley Administration the *Sun* anticipated "an honest tariff" and "sufficient revenue for the needs of the Government." ¹⁰⁵ To the Republicans there was just one cause for the adverse economic conditions of the past three years: the failure of the tariff act of 1894 to provide an adequate revenue. Congress set to work to remedy this defect. The result was the Dingley Tariff Act approved July 24, 1897. As might be expected, it was a thoroughly protective measure.

While it was being discussed the *Sun* made frequent invidious comparisons between it and the Wilson-Gorman Act, reminding the Democrats that at last they had an opportunity "to purify themselves of the taint of Wilsonism" by helping to pass a "tariff of their professions and their love." "The duty proposed on tea, for instance, is in itself enough to put the stigma of shame upon the Wilson abortion, and to command the support of every Democrat, Mugwump, or Cuckoo who supported the Indianapolis platform in 1896." ¹⁰⁶ When it was being amended in the Senate the *Sun* felt that its supporters yielded too much to the Senators who "smacked of Bryanism," insisting that if "the Republican control" had been complete "the bill would have been less extreme in its protection and more effective for the raising of the revenue." ¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, upon its passage it was hailed as being the first tariff bill "in the history of American legislation" over which there was complete "unanimity among the business men of the Union." Being "satisfactory to every body," it was safe to assume that the tariff issue "as a main and primary cause of separation between national parties in different sections of the Union has been set aside for many years to come." ¹⁰⁸

The Dingley Act was the first tariff measure to which the *Sun* gave enthusiastic approval. It was passed frankly as a high protective measure with no desire or pretense of being anything else, thus appealing powerfully to Dana's ruthless honesty. Furthermore, it gratified his nationalism.

¹⁰⁴ Feb. 7, 1897.

¹⁰⁵ Feb. 25, 1897.

¹⁰⁶ May 6, 1897.

¹⁰⁷ July 9, 1897.

¹⁰⁸ July 25, 1897.

In respect to Cleveland, Dana's personal antipathies and tariff convictions were not divided. But when it came to supporting the Democratic party on a tariff for revenue platform the *Sun* had to resort to journalistic acrobatics in its efforts to discredit the party of Grant and Hayes and high protection. To do this it intimated at one time that the country was not interested in the question, or that reform of corruption was the issue; and at another time that the party of Jefferson and Jackson was traditionally opposed to free trade and the internal revenue system, or that the majority of Democrats really believed in protection when it came to actual practice.

Except for its continued support of the Democratic party the tariff policy of the *Sun* was fairly consistent. Dana preferred to twist the principles and practices of the Democracy rather than to twist his tariff convictions to fit the party. This illustrates a striking characteristic of Dana's. As illogical and insincere as it appeared on the surface for the *Sun*, an advocate of high tariff and hard money, to support the Democratic instead of the Republican party and at the same time repudiate Cleveland, there was no other course for it to follow and remain true to Dana's animosities, enthusiasms and convictions. At no time was Dana willing to sacrifice his personal friendships and hatreds to the virtue or reward of political consistency. And not once did he allow his ardent devotion to high tariff lead him into supporting the party of protection which he believed had defrauded and debauched the American people. Rather he attempted to educate the Democratic party to his particular principles claiming that it was honest even if mistaken in its economic doctrines. It was merely incidental that in doing so, Dana could be consistent to his dislike of Cleveland. The fact that he reversed the *Sun's* position on the silver-gold controversy to avenge himself upon the Mugwump Moses, merely proves the point. It was not until Cleveland was out of political life and the Democracy had fallen prey to Bryanism that Dana's economic and political convictions were merged.

CHAPTER XII

STALWART AND HALFBREED

At the end of its protracted struggle to wrest the country from Grantism and all that the word implied, the New York *Sun* faced the presidential year of 1876 with new hope. It said the Republican party had become "tyrannical," "parasitic," and "morally decayed," and it was time for the Democrats to take the reins. "Turn them out," it told its readers. "The worst Democratic Administration will be better than the best one the Republican party can give us."¹

Of potential Republican candidates, the *Sun* soon relegated to political limbo Benjamin H. Bristow, Hamilton Fish and Oliver P. Morton. Roscoe Conkling, received a few sarcastic compliments. He was a favorite of Grant, and must therefore have the nomination. He was a party member who "kept step to the music, and marched up to the standard every time." The *Sun* said, ". . . he has made no speech throughout this whole period, cast no vote, supported or opposed no measure, except with reference to the success, and harmony, and the efficiency of the party, and its prolonged tenure of power."² A ticket with Conkling at the head would "please the regular old-fashioned party men, the friends of Grant, of Shepherd, of Delano, of Williams, of San Domingo and of Secor Robberson!"³ As for Blaine, the *Sun* would have rejoiced in his nomination, "for we deem it necessary to the welfare of the country that the Republican Party should be overthrown; and there is no possible candidate whose nomination would render such an overthrow more certain than James Blaine."⁴

Conkling and Blaine each had political strength, but their personal animosity prevented either from supporting the other. In April, the *Sun* predicted that Rutherford B. Hayes would be a compromise candidate. On May 9th it declared, "Each of the celebrated aspirants would rather have him than either of their immediate rivals. . . . He is a man of

¹ June 12, 1876.

² Feb. 1, 1876.

³ May 24, 1876.

⁴ May 26, 1876.

talent, he is a gentleman, he is rich and independent, he served with credit through the war. . . ." The day after its prophecy was fulfilled, Dana wrote:

It is Hayes of Ohio—not Blaine, or Conkling, or any of the other nominees . . . Hayes is a man whose weakness and unimportance are his principal recommendations to the Republican party.

He is a man who, in the Presidency, would run the machine in as easy and as unobjectionable a way as he could; but would run it in the old rut; and this is about the worst thing than can be said of any man who desires to become the successor of Grant. . . .⁵

On the Democratic side, the *Sun* focused its attention upon Samuel Tilden, whom it considered eminently fitted to win the national prize. Although the *Sun* had opposed Tilden's nomination for Governor because of his "crotchety nature" and numerous enemies,⁶ it had come to believe the success of the Democratic party was dependent upon him. It pointed out to Tilden the path of the expert politician: "go slow" in prosecuting the Canal Ring; make friends rather than enemies. It praised his speeches as concise, pointed and vigorous.⁷ It affirmed that its own advocacy did not arise from personal regard for Tilden, but "from an earnest desire, born of conviction, to see the Government restored to the simplicity and integrity of the time of Jefferson."⁸ When Tilden won the Democratic nomination on June 29, Dana heartily approved of the "good day's work."

The *Sun* minimized the currency question, reminding the people that both Tilden and Hayes stood for sound money. It said Tilden would clean out the civil service. The crucial issue for the people was reform, which Tilden personified. However, it characterized the Democratic platform in a way that was scarcely complimentary:

The platform is an elastic platform, suited to any colored spectacles that a man wants to look through at it. It is intended to be like the suspenders which the auctioneer cried in these words: "Long enough for any man and short enough for any body." It was intended to suit Democrats of different States holding diametrically opposite doctrines. For such a purpose we do not see how it could have been better devised. It is like the restaurant in California, where

⁵ June 17, 1876.

⁶ Aug. 27, 1876.

⁷ Jan. 1, 1876.

⁸ June 19, 1876.

you could have beef steak, veal, or venison, whichever you ordered, but all cut from the round of a yearling bull.⁹

The Civil War had left the South chaotic; an analysis of the election by Republicans and Democrats centered on the voting in the reconstructed States. Would Grant continue his "extraordinary policy of fraud and intimidation and put Hayes in office?" The *Sun* reported that a prominent Republican, admitting that Tilden would probably be chosen, said: "before he shall be inaugurated the streets of the capital will run with blood." But it ridiculed these threats of resistance:

Now that the election of Mr. Tilden is assured beyond any doubt the Republican managers who cannot bear to loose their grip on the treasury or to have exposed their still concealed rascalities and robberies begin to threaten resistance to his inauguration. They employ the language and breathe the fanatical and foolish spirit of the most violent class of the secessionists of 1861. . . .

We advise these people to keep cool and not to let their angry passions rise. It will be hard to resist the inevitable result which is now foreshadowed. Samuel J. Tilden will be elected. . . .¹⁰

When the result of the election was announced the *Sun* asserted unqualifiedly that Tilden was victorious. Other papers in New York City, however, announced the victory of Hayes.¹¹ The facts that seemed to the *Sun* most effective in proving that Tilden had rightfully won the election were that he received a plurality of more than a quarter of a million of the popular vote, and needed the electoral votes of only one of the three disputed States, whereas Hayes needed the votes of all three. *Sun* readers were assured that South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana had been originally carried for Tilden, and that only Republican fraud could reverse the decisions. "The governors of the states," the *Sun* soon declared, "have shown themselves during the past week to be the three most impudent liars in the country."¹²

Dana justified the action of the Governor of Oregon, in throwing out one of its three electors for ineligibility and substituting a Democrat instead, on the ground that in the other three disputed states, where enough votes were taken to elect Tilden and then thrown out, the Gov-

⁹ July 4, 1876.

¹⁰ Oct. 31, 1876.

¹¹ *New York Times*; *Herald*; Nov. 8, 1876; Cf. Nevins, Allan, *Abram S. Hewitt*, 320.

¹² Nov. 15, 1876.

error's decision had been accepted as final. Similar action elsewhere, he argued, might be justifiable and even commendable as forcing the settlement of so serious a question of jurisdiction.¹³

When the official count of the Returning Boards gave Hayes 185 electoral votes and Tilden 184, the Democrats were deeply aroused, and threats were made that Hayes would never be inaugurated.¹⁴ The *Sun* exhorted the people to keep cool: "The weapons by which the conspiracy can alone be safely and surely resisted are moral weapons—appeals to the conscience, the judgment and the patriotism of the people. . . ." ¹⁵ It denounced Grant for bringing troops to Washington and interpreted his message to Gen. Sherman as condoning the Republican fraud. It urged people to let their remonstrances flow into Congress against the President to whose eyes "bloodshed may not be wholly uncongenial." ¹⁶

There were two sets of votes from the four disputed states. According to the Constitution, "The President of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall open all the certificates and all the certificates shall be counted." The *Sun* held that this did not give the President of the Senate the ministerial duty of deciding which votes to count. But many Republicans planned that Ferry, President of the Senate, should open the votes in the presence of the Senate and the House (the House not to be allowed to have any voice in the counting). "For this scheme, the Republican party and the statesmen of that party so far stand responsible. The consummation of their purpose means the end of government by the people through elections. . . ." ¹⁷

Since there was, in the opinion of the *Sun*, nothing to compromise, it looked upon the Joint Compromise Committee, created by Congress, as worthless and continued to advocate a settlement of the difficulty through counting the votes by agents of both houses:

If we cannot have it ascertained by the concurrent action of the two houses of Congress, without a sacrificing of their constitutional functions . . . then our institutions have indeed broken down; then the Statue of Liberty has fallen, and "bloody treason triumphs over us"; then through the technicality of the

¹³ Nov. 29, 1876.

¹⁴ Alexander, D. S., *A Political History of the State of New York*, III, 350-351.

¹⁵ Dec. 13, 1876.

¹⁶ Dec. 11, 1876; Cf. Rhodes, James F., *History of the United States*, VII, 246; Hesseltine, William B., *Ulysses S. Grant*, 412-422.

¹⁷ Dec. 12, 1876.

letter that killeth the truth the popular will cannot prevail and we are at the mercy of any set of men who can perpetrate frauds under the form of law.¹⁸

The bill devised by the Compromise Committee was duly reported. The electoral commission which it outlined consisting of five senators, five representatives and five Justices of the Supreme Court, four to be named and one to be selected, received a grudging approval: "This project is not perfect, and is open to various objections, but taken as a whole, it is perhaps the best that could be obtained, and has the great merit of insuring peace."¹⁹ As long as the fifth judge might be independent of either party, the *Sun* and the Democrats were acquiescent, but when on Jan. 25, 1877, Judge David Davis was selected as Senator of Illinois, and when it became apparent that Joseph Bradley, a Republican, would be the fifth arbitrator, the *Sun* lost hope: "Joe Bradley our President Maker! To this complexion we have come at last!"²⁰

After this disaster, the *Sun* declared that the Commission was unconstitutional:

What powers, then, does this Commission possess? No power under the Constitution, for the Constitution does not contemplate the existence of such a body; no powers under the law, for the law creating it is clearly unconstitutional. There is just one power which this tribunal possesses; that is the power to adjourn *sine die*. The sooner that is done the better. The sooner the judges of the Supreme Court return to the bench, and to the discharge of their proper duties the more respect from the American bar and the American people, which has hitherto attended them, will they be able to carry back with them.²¹

The outcry against the Commission came too late. The bill had been passed by both houses and on the 29th of January was signed by the President. One by one the disputed states were adjudged to Hayes. The triumph of the Republicans was complete. Unable to accept the verdict, the *Sun* printed on its editorial page, "These are the days of humiliation, shame and mourning for every patriotic American. A man whom the people rejected at the polls has been declared President of the United States through processes of fraud. A cheat is to sit in the seat of George Washington." Appearing with a deep black border to signify its grief, it further declared: "Let every upright citizen gird himself

¹⁸ Dec. 23, 1876.

¹⁹ Jan. 24, 1877.

²⁰ Jan. 31, 1877.

²¹ Feb. 9, 1877.

up for the work of redressing this monstrous crime. No truce with the guilty conspirators! No rest for them and no mercy till their political punishment and destruction are complete!"²²

The *Sun* approved the resolution of the House made "in accordance with the recommendation of the *Sun*"²³ to the effect that Samuel J. Tilden was legally elected President and Thomas A. Hendricks Vice-President. It quickly plunged into the problem of how the country should treat a President who had never been elected. It advised all people to let him severely alone, to stay away from his inauguration, to take no part in his receptions, to decline invitations to his dinners, and to coldly regard him whenever he appeared in public. "He should be made to feel it daily and hourly that he is only tolerated, and is nothing more than a fraudulent President."²⁴

A picture of Hayes with F-R-A-U-D inscribed across his brow appeared on May 14th and again the next day when Hayes visited New York, to remind him and the people of the "Crime of 1876." The hard times during the first two years under a President "who was never elected" were attributed to the Hayes fraud.²⁵ Not only was the President a fraud, but every department under him and every official responsible to him was called a fraud. Our foreign policy was conducted without scruples of conscience or honor, since a man who did not hesitate to become our fraudulent president could "have no qualms of conscience about robbing a neighbor."²⁶ "Hayesism makes Grantism seem respectable, almost admirable," the *Sun* announced on the day Hayes took office.²⁷

The cabinet chosen by Hayes was considered unlikely to satisfy loyal Republicans, but admirable from the point of view of an Independent:

. . . John Sherman of Ohio is the ruling spirit, and the most experienced politician is Richard W. Thompson of Indiana. The latter is to be Secretary to the Navy. He is an immense improvement on Secor Robeson.

Mr. Evarts we all know. . . . Andrew Johnson appointed him Attorney-General near the end of his term in return for defending him in the impeachment

²² Mar. 3, 1877.

²³ Mar. 5, 1877.

²⁴ Feb. 25, 1877.

²⁵ May 15, 1878.

²⁶ July 7, 1877.

²⁷ An attempt has been made to convey the difference in temper and tone of the *Sun* between the eras of "Grantism" and "Hayesism." During Grantism the vituperation and malicious humor is tinged more with wit and less with venom.

trial; and now the Fraudulent President appoints him Secretary of State. He has never been active as a Republican, and not long ago made an energetic speech at the Cooper Institute against the Louisiana frauds then perpetrated. Now he has argued before the Electoral Commission that still greater frauds ought not to be investigated and has helped Mr. Hayes to get into office by means of these frauds. His appointment to be Secretary of State under such circumstances may not be agreeable to the Republicans of New York; but the propriety of it, we think, will not be disputed elsewhere.

It is well that Mr. Schurz is nominated for Secretary of the Interior. Against this nomination the leaders of the Republican party have made a determined opposition, some of them threatening to reject it in the Senate. Mr. Hayes, however, has held out against their menaces, and he will be widely complimented on this manifestation of firmness. If Mr. Schurz should be confirmed, it will be interesting to see him employ his literary and rhetorical talents in commending to the country hereafter, and especially to the young men, those processes of cheating in election through bribery, forgery, and fraud, without which he could not now have been nominated as a member of the Fraudulent Cabinet. We dare say, too, he will not require the clerks in his department—should he have one when the time comes around—to pay political assessments for any future election, or be dismissed; but if Zach Chandler had not been of different stuff, Schurz would never have got the present official compliment.

Mr. Key of Tennessee, nominated for Postmaster-General is a Democrat, and has never been anything else. . . . He is a man of moderate ability and limited influence. His appointment is an illustration of the proposed new policy toward the South. Let Mr. Hayes have credit for thus rising above his party.

Gen. Devens of Massachusetts was originally a Webster Whig, then a Democrat and then a Republican. . . . Mr. Hayes has taken him for Attorney-General. . . . It is a respectable, not a brilliant nomination. He is not a brilliant lawyer.²⁸

Dana's expression of approval was apparently based upon a shrewd political calculation. He knew that Conkling had hoped for an appointment. His friends had even urged Hayes to make him Secretary of State. Furthermore the choice of Evarts was a direct affront. Dana used the *Sun* to promote the disaffection within the Republican party, saying, "It is not to be supposed that such a party, with such a history, will look on in passive obedience while Mr. Hayes uses the power of the Administration to reverse its ancient doctrines and its traditional policy."²⁹ By September, 1877, its Utica correspondent reported that Conkling regarded "Hayes' presence at the head of the administration as a thing

²⁸ Mar. 8, 1877.

²⁹ Apr. 14, 1877.

of fraud, and upon this fraud he means to make war.”³⁰ This delighted the *Sun*.

As time went on, the *Sun* criticized the quality of Hayes' cabinet. It asserted that Evarts first favored free trade and then protective tariffs; that settled principles and positive convictions form “no part of his intellectual baggage.”³¹ He was reported extraordinarily sensitive to the opinion of Roscoe Conkling and his friends. When Evarts declared that the people were tired of politics running the National Government, the *Sun* agreed that the people were tired of the sort of politics he represented.³²

Carl Schurz, the *Sun* believed, was a sentimental enthusiast, living upon fine spun theories and accomplishing nothing real. “When he accepted office as a recompense for his service in the Presidential Campaign, Mr. Schurz sacrificed whatever fair reputation he may previously have enjoyed.”³³ Sherman was confused as to the financial situation and went about his work in a blundering, muddle-headed way. “Ancient Mariner” Thompson, while wasteful of time in attention to details of navy tailoring, was accorded respect in that he did not show the patient fidelity in waiting on Hayes at county fairs that “Lawyer” Evarts and “Erring Brother” Key evinced. “Last summer, for example, he was off on a junketing tour on the briny deep, along the shores between Norfolk and Portsmouth, while his brethren were listening to Hayes' weak jokes and measuring prize pumpkins at agricultural fairs.”³⁴

That Hayes meant what he said about civil service reform the *Sun* never believed. It cried, “What Hayes and Schurz and the rest of the fraudulent administration mean by civil service reform is to put their own political friends in office and foist them on their successors for life.”³⁵ Dana was contemptuous of Hayes' executive order of June 22 upon the civil service, and ridiculed especially the demand that office-holders should not take part in the management of political organizations, caucuses, conventions, or campaigns. It asserted that “the President, *de facto*,” had no constitutional or legal right to control the leisure hours of Federal employees and advised no man in the country “to

³⁰ Sept 11, 1877.

³¹ Sept 6, 1877.

³² Sept 19, 1877.

³³ Oct 10, 1877; Cf Fuess, Claude, *Carl Schurz*.

³⁴ May 25, 1879.

³⁵ Mar. 16, 1877.

consider the President in making up his mind whether he will go to a political caucus or not." ³⁶ Hayes partially proposed to enslave about eighty thousand citizens, mostly white, by his obnoxious order against any part in political life. "Eunuchs are eunuchs, whether they be one or many; whether they voluntarily submit to welcome such or not. How many for the sake of the office will consent to resign their manhood and be made the eunuchs of the Administration. We shall see!" ³⁷

Many of Hayes' appointments were listed by the *Sun* as election debts, like that of Edwin M. Stoughton of New York as Minister to England.³⁸ Others were conscience debts, such as the appointment of Senator Morton's son as Treasury Agent at the Fur Seal Island of St. Paul and St. George in Alaska:

Mr. Hayes has unbounded faith in the power of office to buy toleration for his Fraudulent Administration. Finding the great Senator Morton sulking, and almost ready to break into open denunciation of the President *de facto* as strutting about in stolen feathers and spitting on the thieves who stole them for him, Mr. Hayes began immediately to appease him with offices and plunder.³⁹

Dana denounced Hayes' appointment to the Treasury Department of a long list of Southerners who had been active in placing Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida in the Hayes' column in 1876-77.⁴⁰ Thoroughly convinced of Hayes' insincerity, the *Sun* remarked, "The weakness, hypocrisy, and imbecility of Hayes have been plentifully shown in his sham civil service reform."⁴¹

When on May 17, 1878, the Democratic House passed the Potter resolution for the investigation of Hayes' title, the *Sun* demanded a thorough inquiry, devoting almost its entire editorial page to the subject during the last two weeks of May. It claimed that no man of sense cared whether the President was Tilden or Hayes; but everyone wished to see in the White House the man elected by the people. In October, 1878, the *Tribune* began publication of a series of dispatches which plainly showed that Democrats had attempted bribery in the Southern States. At first the *Sun* refused to believe in the authenticity of the telegrams.

³⁶ July 4, 1877.

³⁷ July 19, 1877.

³⁸ Oct. 16, 1877.

³⁹ Mar. 26, 1877.

⁴⁰ July 21, 1878.

⁴¹ Mar. 5, 1878.

When facts became indisputable, it decided that "after all" there was not "so very much to the cipher telegrams":

Certain Republican officials were willing to sell out. The Democrats did not buy for lack of funds, the practical result was the same; the purchase was not made. . . .

Now the real gist of the matter all lies in the question whether the Republicans bought or not. On that point the only light shed by the cipher telegrams is in the establishment of the fact that those having the power to make the returns one way or the other were ready for a trade. The Republicans got the office, and there are very strong reasons for believing they did not get it for nothing.⁴²

Hayes' personal character did not escape the censure of the *Sun*, although, unlike Grant, he was not the subject of insinuations regarding his morals. Finding it difficult to prove intemperance or other vices on the part of the dignified and refined gentleman who occupied the Presidency, the *Sun* at first made fun of him and his friends because of their "ladies tea parties." In the second year, it printed an editorial entitled, "A Social Triumph for Hayes," accusing him of going on a spree:

For two or three days past Mr. Hayes and his family, including Webb P. and Birchard Hayes, have been in Philadelphia. The family party was accompanied by Honest John Sherman, Gen. Devens and Carl Schurz, the last named having so far recovered from his recent illness, caused by an excessive use of green tea, that he is able to travel short distances by carefully guarding his nerves against exciting scenes and sounds.

The entertainment provided by the citizens of Philadelphia for the President and his fraudulent hangers-on seems to have been devised with reference to the state of Carl Schurz's nerves. . . . The . . . visitors were treated to a sail down the river on an excursion steamboat. In deference to the alleged temperance views of Mr. Hayes and Webb P. Hayes, several baskets of wine were ordered away by the managing committee; but when the steamboat was off Chester, that adroit patriot and sincere friend of the flag, Mr. Johnny Roach, sent a small boat ashore after champagne. In the sly language of the reporter who accompanied the party, Mr. Johnny Roach's thoughtfulness was "appreciatively understood," from which we infer that the remainder of the voyage was nothing more or less than a mild orgy.⁴³

In 1885 the *Sun* alleged that Hayes, now an "ex-fraud," was actively engaged in the "gin" business, adding that the only surprising fact was

⁴² Dec. 5, 1878.

⁴³ Apr. 27, 1878.

that he had allowed the property to stand in his own name. Later the *Sun* published a report of the sale of the "Hayes Gin Mill" for \$41,000 but hastened to deny its accuracy, saying: "Whoever heard of Hayes selling anything—from a hydro-sulphuretted hen's egg down to his good name and personal honor—for a copper less than its market value." ⁴⁴ It reprinted the discovery by the *Chicago News* that the "saloon which he pretended to sell was not the only disreputable property he owned in that town." ⁴⁵ So abusive did the *Sun* become that newspapers throughout the country were shocked. The Boston *Herald* asked if it were not about time the *Sun* let Hayes alone. Dana replied:

No; not yet. So long as new facts, such as those which are now coming out, throw additional light on the mental and moral deformities of his character, it is best that they should have the widest publicity. This, for two reasons: First, because they vindicate the truth and justice of the *Sun's* original estimate of the man; and, secondly, because they render more complete and lifelike the portrait that will be transmitted to future generations—the portrait of one of the most conspicuous and at the same time one of the most despicable figures in American history. ⁴⁶

The *Sun* was adept at personal abuse. Asserting that after leaving the White House, Hayes busied himself in chicken raising instead of attending to pressing public affairs, the *Sun* nicknamed him "Hen-House Hayes." When he and Mrs. Hayes left the White House they were reported as taking the silver and linen as well as the furniture, leaving "Poor President Garfield" to refurnish the place. The "impropriety" of Hayes' course upon the death of Thomas A. Hendricks brought forth a number of scathing editorials. His telegram of sympathy to Mrs. Hendricks was treated as an attempt to obtain public attention by "hypocritical condolence with the widow of one of the men whom he defrauded." ⁴⁷ Hayes' attendance at the funeral was described:

The volunteered presence of Rutherford B. Hayes at the grave of Thomas A. Hendricks today is a spectacle which the country might well have been spared. Is it possible that the man is utterly destitute of shame? Does he dare to force his way to the front rank of the mourners who follow the dead statesman to the tomb, wearing on his false face the counterfeit of their sincere grief? The insolence of such hypocrisy is inexpressible. We should think that the despised

⁴⁴ June 3, 1885.

⁴⁵ June 14, 1885.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Nov. 30, 1885.

wretch would tremble with fear lest the dead himself would speak and say: "Back, fraud! Stand not with those who loved and honored me."⁴⁸

Aspersions upon Hayes' character were combined from time to time with witticisms regarding his social diversions:

That irrepressible patriot, Mr. Henry C. Bowen, celebrated the last Fourth of July by fetching Mr. and Mrs. R. B. Hayes all the way from Fremont, Ohio, at considerable expense, and exhibiting them to his neighbors and admirers in the town of Woodstock. Mr. Hayes delivered an oration which not a single newspaper in the United States of America took the trouble to print.

From the Putnam *Patriot*, published near Woodstock, we learn how Mr. Henry C. Bowen and Mr. R. B. Hayes amused themselves after the Fourth. On Thursday afternoon Mr. Hayes swam in Roseland Lake. He did not sink to the bottom. A body of Hayes' specific gravity would float in alcohol.

Later in the afternoon Mr. Henry C. Bowen and Mr. R. B. Hayes witnessed the performance of the Wabaquasset Club at polo. In the intervals of rest between the heats Mr. Hayes "was seen rolling upon the ground beneath the hackmatacks." This is nothing new. Hayes has crawled and rolled in the dirt ever since 1876.

On Friday afternoon, Mr. and Mrs. Hayes, with Mr. and Mrs. Bowen and a large party of ladies and gentlemen, rode to the lake for a bath. "This," continues the Putnam *Patriot*, was a notable and enjoyable occasion. Mr. and Mrs. Hayes soon had on bathing dresses, and the whole party were in a most hilarious mood. At one time all joined hands and danced round and round, singing, "You nor we, nor anyone knows how oats, peas, beans, and barley grows, ripen and are gathered in." The roars of laughter "could be distinctly heard on the top of Mount Eliot and even half a mile across the lake." This noise was unseemly.

That same day Mr. Henry C. Bowen and Mr. R. B. Hayes visited Putnam's Cave in Pomfret. Mr. Hayes got down on his hands and knees, we are told, and "put his head into the dark and rocky retreat of the wicked old wolf as far as was practicable." He hauled it out again mighty quickly. A small snake, coiled near the entrance of the cave, raised its head and began to hiss. The Fraud need not have been afraid. No snake that squirms and hisses would bite Hayes.⁴⁹

To the *Sun's* gratification, the Blaine and Conkling factions of the Republican party were at odds with Hayes during his Administration. A series of rapid vetoes during April, May and June of 1879 had unfortunate political consequences. The first of these was an appropriation bill with a clause attached by the Democrats, repealing the law for Federal supervision of the polls. For this veto, according to the *Sun*, the Stalwarts forgave Hayes, "granted absolution, and welcomed him

⁴⁸ Dec. 1, 1885.

⁴⁹ July 23, 1883.

back without killing the fatted calf." On May 12th he vetoed a bill which incorporated the free election principle; and on May 29th, the legislative, judicial and executive appropriation bill bearing a rider on the same issue. The *Sun* said, "The veto of the Legislative bill warmed the hearts of Chandler, Logan, Blaine and their associates, and everything looked lovely for a perfect reunion."

Finally the army bill was passed with a less drastic rider to soothe the Democrats, and Hayes signed it. The *Sun* reported that "Mr. Conkling was unreserved in denouncing the act among his friends, and declared that the latter bill only differed from the first in that it acted temporarily and would have to be renewed, while the original restriction would have operated permanently." With this event the two factions returned to their sulky animosity.⁵⁰

Conkling had earned the contempt of the *Sun* by his advocacy of the Electoral Compromise Committee in 1876. Now, as Dana saw Cameron of Pennsylvania and Logan of Illinois uniting with the New York Senator in a conspiracy to "set the will of the people at defiance and re-elect Ulysses S. Grant," he was further aroused against him. Noting with satisfaction the appearance of the first anti-third term organization, the *Sun* urged that every county should speedily organize such a club.⁵¹ With alacrity it revived old scandals of Grantism⁵² and in every way worked to destroy Grant sentiment.

A speech by Conkling before the Republican State Convention at Utica, in which he proposed the unit rule for the delegates to the National Convention, struck the *Sun* as remarkable rather "for its shallowness and sophistry than for ability or eloquence." His contention that if the delegates were not to vote as a unit, they would be comparable to "a regiment or a company going into battle; in place of all firing together, every man fires when he pleases and where he pleases," elicited the answer that Conkling knew "it was only by the exercise of despotism like that which rules armies that the nomination of Grant could be carried."⁵³ After the State Convention, the *Sun* concluded that Conkling was a liar and a knave who had induced the Republican party to stultify itself, and "like a well-trained dog obeys a circus clown, to roll itself in the mud at his command. . . ." "Never," it said, "did Southern

⁵⁰ July 5, 1879.

⁵¹ Jan. 8, 1880.

⁵² Jan. 21, 1880.

⁵³ Feb. 28, 1880.

taskmaster lord it more despotically over the field hands on a cotton plantation than did Roscoe Conkling yesterday over his well-dressed but mean-spirited, white-livered Republican followers at Utica.”⁵⁴

Early the following May evidence of Republican dissension appeared in a letter written by Senator Robertson to the Albany *Evening Journal*. He claimed that disregarding the instructions of the Utica Convention, he should “vote first, last, and all the time in the Chicago Convention for James G. Blaine, the candidate preferred by the Republicans in his district.”⁵⁵ Senator Robertson’s letter was followed by speeches of other delegates equally defiant. “All this stirred Albany to its political center yesterday, and in the interchange of opinion and purpose it was elicited that at least twenty of New York’s delegation are in revolt against the Utica Convention’s instructions.”⁵⁶ Meanwhile J. D. Cameron, in Pennsylvania, attempted similar tactics to carry his State, but with less success. The Philadelphia *Times* was elated at the outcome of the Republican State Convention, pronouncing it “The end of the third-term folly.”

The *Sun* predicted a contentious national convention: “The friends of the several rival candidates who at first bowed in meek submission to the Grant dictation now wear a bold front, and promise to dispute every inch of ground until a nomination is finally reached.”⁵⁷ Recalling that Conkling’s animosity to Blaine was caused by “the Maine Senator, having, on some occasion, characterized the Senator from New York as a Turkey Gobbler,” the *Sun* said, “One thing is certain: the ‘gobble, gobble, gobble’ of a turkey is not so senseless as Mr. Conkling’s untrue and fulsome eulogy of Grant’s administration in his speech nominating that gentleman as a third term candidate.”⁵⁸ When Garfield and Arthur were nominated, the *Sun* rejoiced that Grant had been defeated:

The most important feature of the proceedings at Chicago is the defeat of Grant. Through all coming time his name will remain associated with the attempt to change the form of our free Government to a monarchy; and this must ever dim and tarnish the renown of his military career.

⁵⁴ Feb. 26, 1880.

⁵⁵ May 8, 1880; Alexander III, 437; According to Alexander the Republicans who refused to accept the unit-rule were labelled by the machine Republicans, “Half-Breeds.”

⁵⁶ May 7, 1880.

⁵⁷ May 14, 1880.

⁵⁸ June 6, 1880.

It is hardly likely that another attempt at a third term and imperialism will be made in this country for a hundred years.

Thank God! ⁵⁹

To the new presidential candidate Dana was not precisely complimentary. Garfield's name had been intimately connected with the "Credit Mobilier," "Salary Grab" and the "De Golyer" pavement transaction. The *Sun* said, "when they fired cannon in the City Hall Park over the nomination of Garfield yesterday, the smoke rose in the air in the form of rings." ⁶⁰

The attitude of Stalwart Republicans toward Garfield was examined with care. It was announced in the *Sun* that Conkling, Blaine, and Logan had been conspicuous for their absence at the first ratification meeting in Washington, Logan finally being "fished out of the crowd, where he had been from curiosity and with no intention of taking part in the proceedings." ⁶¹ In time Conkling accepted the party decision. The *Sun* attributed his change of attitude to a visit paid by leading Stalwarts to the home of the Presidential nominee in Mentor, Ohio, where a bargain was made:

Mr. Blaine was probably the only sincere opponent of Grant on the list of Presidential candidates at Chicago. He has been left out in the cold. He was not represented at the conference or included in the bargain between Garfield, Grant, Conkling, Cameron and Logan at Mentor. Neither were the people.⁶²

On November 4th, the day of Garfield's election, the following editorial appeared:

The sectional issue elected Garfield.

Who made the sectional issue?

Roscoe Conkling.

Who emphasized and pressed that issue in the campaign?

Roscoe Conkling and General Grant.

Were they zealous from the beginning?

By no means. Their zeal was kindled suddenly, some time after the nomination at Chicago.

What is the explanation of this?

Time will show. Undoubtedly such an arrangement was made as Conkling

⁵⁹ June 9, 1880.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Aug. 14, 1880.

⁶² Oct. 17, 1880.

and Grant believed would increase Grant's chances for a Third Term. We may look for the development of the plot in the future.

The *Sun* greeted the news that Blaine was booked for Secretary of State with a non-committal "Well! Well!" and waited expectantly for repercussions from the Conklingites. Those who believed that New York's 35 electoral votes had chosen Garfield were eager for the spoils. According to the *Sun*, they believed offices had been promised, but they distrusted Garfield. An attempt to place a New York "machine" Republican in the cabinet met with difficulties. Blaine had the ear of the President and did not intend that the "third termers" should weaken his interests and plans for the following Presidential Campaign. The appointment of Levi P. Morton or Charles J. Folger as Secretary of the Treasury would have pleased Conkling, but it was politically impossible.

Thomas L. James, chosen as Attorney-General, was nominally a Stalwart but far too independent to please the Conkling faction. The *Sun* said that Garfield had committed a breach of trust in this selection. Soon after the President had been inaugurated, the names of five New York Stalwarts were sent to the Senate for various offices. But, this encouraging intelligence was soon overshadowed by the appointment of Judge William H. Robertson, a Half-Breed, to the Collectorship of the Port of New York. Robertson had been the chief, perhaps the ablest, opponent of Conkling in the New York Republican organization. The *Sun* maliciously remarked: "The nosegay has been removed from Senator Conkling's desk, and the skunk-cabbage which has been thrust in its place does not smell as sweet. But what can the Senator do? What will the Senator do?"⁶³

The *Sun* continued its part in the comedy by encouraging and applauding the Republican quarrel. It urged the appointment of Robertson to some other fine office in New York State, saying the President could not honorably overlook his claim. It expressed dismay that Garfield could soberly contemplate a plan for making an implacable enemy of Conkling. Lastly, it pointed out that if Conkling did not receive a rebuke, Blaine must. All in all, declared the *Sun*, it would be wise for the Democrats to take advantage of this dissension among the leading Republicans.⁶⁴ While urging Conkling to fight against the appointment

⁶³ Mar. 24, 1881.

⁶⁴ Jan. 28, 1881.

of Robertson, "or the days of his glory would be over," it criticized him for holding up the Senate's pursuit of more important duties.⁶⁵ While it pointed out to the upper chamber the ignominy of not upholding the principle of "Senatorial courtesy," it encouraged the President not to withdraw the nominations, as that would be an abandonment of executive functions at the dictation of Conkling.⁶⁶ Meanwhile it irritated the Stalwarts by gloating over Blaine's influence on Garfield:

It is pleasant to be informed that Mr. Blaine had nothing whatever to do with Judge Robertson's appointment. Oh, no; nothing; why should he have anything to do with it? What should he care? It is nothing to him.

Poor Blaine! He is a little lamb, and would like to be out in the pastures, verdant as himself, climbing the rocks and skipping about with the other little lambs, if only he was not shut up in that horrid, dingy old State Department. He to have anything to do with the appointment of Judge Robertson! Never! He scorns the imputation. It was the cat, or Gail Hamilton, that did it.

We sincerely believe that Mr. Blaine had more to do with the matter than he would have had if he himself had been President of the United States in his own name.⁶⁷

The President's withdrawal of the five original New York appointees was a grave mistake, according to the *Sun*, while the Senate's confirmation of Robertson was "childish" and "weak."⁶⁸ Nor did the abrupt resignation of Conkling and Thomas Platt, his brother Senator, elicit any sympathy. After a careful analysis of their letters in explanation of the act, dealing "almost wholly with the conduct of Garfield respecting the nomination of Mr. Robertson to the collectorship,"⁶⁹ the *Sun* concluded that the two Senators were at fault, and was at a loss to imagine what glory or credit they expected to reap from striking their colors and making an ignominious retreat.⁷⁰

With the intention of perpetuating the quarrel between Garfield and the Stalwarts, the *Sun* began a campaign to re-elect Conkling, saying that the legislature should promptly and decisively return him to the Senate. "What becomes of Platt," it added, "is of very little consequence."⁷¹ The *Sun's* attitude toward Platt had been scornful since he

⁶⁵ Apr. 13, 1881.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Apr. 3, 1881.

⁶⁸ May 7, 1881; On May 6, the *Sun* had said Garfield was a "smart man" for the same reason.

⁶⁹ May 17, 1881.

⁷⁰ May 21, 1881.

⁷¹ May 18, 1881.

was elected to the Senate. It had inquired, "Who is Mr. Platt but an expressman?";⁷² it pointed out that Platt had been nominated merely to gratify a whim of Roscoe Conkling.⁷³ In urging the re-election of Conkling, the *Sun* reminded its readers that it had opposed his zealous effort to elect Grant to a third term, and had criticized his unmanly conduct during the Electoral dispute of 1876. Nevertheless, it contended that the Republicans should now return him to the Senate:

This should be done above all to rebuke President Garfield. That personage has set on foot in this matter a system of combined bribery and intimidation. He has, on the one hand, threatened Senators with punishment should they refuse to obey his will; and on the other hand, he has held up before them a promise of reward, in the distribution of offices should they comply. The threat and bribery are alike indecent and pernicious.⁷⁴

Yet from the first it doubted whether Conkling could achieve re-election. The President had the advantage of being in office and his Secretary of State "knew something about practical politics." The *Sun* said, "Mr. Conkling's machine has been all powerful in that State; but we shall be able to judge of its real force when it meets another machine running in an opposite direction on the same track."⁷⁵

The New York *World* published a denial by Garfield that he had made any promises to Stalwarts in order to influence their vote. The *Sun* reminded its readers that Garfield's denial in the Credit Mobilier scandal did not represent the truth.⁷⁶ To the claim that Garfield did not even know Senator Strahan, to whom the *Sun* said he had offered the Marshalship of Southern New York as a bribe, it retorted, "When the articles of impeachment are drawn up should they not include an article charging imbecility to administer the office of President?"⁷⁷

While the contest at Albany was in progress, and the *Sun* was advocating the impeachment of Garfield, the country was shocked by the President's assassination at the hands of an office-seeker:

James A. Garfield, President of the United States, was shot and mortally wounded by an insane assassin, at the Baltimore depot in Washington, at about 10 o'clock yesterday morning. He was removed to the White House, where

⁷² Jan. 12, 1881.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ May 18, 1881.

⁷⁵ May 26, 1881.

⁷⁶ June 23, 1881.

⁷⁷ June 3, 1881.

he remains at the point of death. . . .

No event since the assassination of Abraham Lincoln has created such a shock. The sensation of profound sorrow is universal. The American people have but one heart today, and it is overwhelmed with grief at this sudden, unexpected, and tragic striking down of the Chief Executive Magistrate.

Fortunately, deplorable as this terrible event is, and although it will be attended by important personal consequences, the death of Gen. Garfield will have no political significance. It was not the work of a party or of a faction, but was perpetrated by one man, who is understood to have been in a state of mental aberration at the time.⁷⁸

The accusations that leading Stalwarts, including the Vice-President and Conkling, had motivated the shooting was severely condemned by the *Sun*. In an editorial entitled, "Shameful" it rebuked the contemporary press for giving credence to such a rumor.⁷⁹ But although the *Sun* claimed that the press, including the *Tribune*, were putting the responsibility for the crime upon the Stalwarts, those papers were really expressing their indignation at the harassment to which a second President of the United States had been subjected to by personal jealousies. This was the general feeling throughout the country, and the New York legislature responded to it by leaving Conkling and Platt at home.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ July 4, 1881.

CHAPTER XIII

AMERICA; FIRST, LAST AND ALWAYS

OUR "weak," "cowardly," "anti-American," "swindling" foreign policy, pursued with "sterility of ideas," "absence of manly spirit," and "indifference to American principles,"¹ was conducted between 1868 and 1876 by a number of interesting men. When "stupid" President Johnson, "long-winded" Secretary of State Seward, and the "pro-British" Charles Francis Adams passed into history, *Sun* readers were introduced to a new set of villains. They were headed by "Useless S. Grant." At his right hand was "Don" Hamilton Fish, with his son-in-law, Sidney Webster, who was attorney for the government of Spain. The chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Charles Sumner, was "vain and fanciful." The Assistant Secretary of State was "bribe-taking" Bancroft Davis, and all our ministers and diplomats were "toadying charlatans."

According to the *Sun*, "perfidious" England was in worse estate. It was a decaying monarchy whose sovereigns for a century and a half had been shadows. Since Elizabeth, only two great rulers had governed England—William of Nassau, a foreigner, and Oliver Cromwell, a plebian. The Stuarts had been obstinate and treacherous; Anne had been honest but stupid. The first two Georges, "unable to speak intelligent English," had loved nothing so much as punch and fat women. George III had been shrouded in a pall of lunacy and George IV was a heartless seducer. William the IV was so crazy that once when reading a speech from the throne he hurled his coronet at the peers and hailed them as "my peacocks." As for Queen Victoria, she was virtuous and amiable, but had no more to do with the Government than one of her maids of honor.² The Prince of Wales was a "rake." Gladstone wasted his energy upon effete literature, and pursued the foreign policy of a "heathen shopkeeper."³ And Jewish "Dizzy" had recently gotten drunk during a debate in the House of Commons.⁴

It was necessary that the United States and Great Britain come to

¹ Mar. 29, 1870.

² Mar. 31, 1868.

³ Dec. 18, 1869.

⁴ May 5, 1868.

terms. Adams had pressed our claims for damages caused by the *Alabama* and other confederate cruisers.⁵ "While the United States were tugging at each other's throats in a great Civil War, England took advantage of the emergency to fit out piratical craft to destroy our commerce. She drove our flag from the ocean; she defied our ability to protect it; and laughed at our calamities; she predicted our downfall."⁶ No settlement had been reached in May, 1868, when Adams resigned:

Mr. Charles Francis Adams is to come home from England, and we presume nobody is very sorry about it. It is the universal feeling that he has not properly represented the United States; . . . while Mr. Adams is a gentleman of wealth and cultivation, he has inherited some of the failings of his family, such as unsteadiness in political opinions, coldness of manner, and too careful regard for his own interests, which forbid his ever gaining a hold upon the affections of the people.⁷

England knew she had set an unfortunate precedent in the *Alabama* affair. Should she become involved in war her merchant marine would be open to attack by ships quickly constructed in America. Lord Stanley, urging a settlement of the dispute before the House of Commons, said: "England has nothing to gain by keeping it open, and something to gain by closing it." Dana replied, "Talk is talk, but money buys the molasses."⁸ Reverdy Johnson, our new Minister, found the time auspicious for treaty making and the Johnson-Clarendon convention providing for a settlement of claims was concluded. But the *Sun* disapproved of Johnson. He had so far forgotten his position as to shake hands with Laird, who had constructed the *Alabama*, and had made dinner speeches with little thought of public opinion in America. Therefore Dana had no regrets when his treaty was almost unanimously rejected by the Senate.

Meanwhile Sumner added fuel to the antagonism between the two countries. Before the Senate voted he eloquently presented the "massive grievance under which our country suffered."⁹ America gloried in his words and universally praised them. But Dana considered Sumner's speech a "childish display," not because he regretted its temper how-

⁵ Latane, John Holladay, *A History of American Foreign Policy*, 430-431.

⁶ Mar. 10, 1868.

⁷ Feb. 13, 1868: The *Sun* published the compliments extended to Adams by the London *Standard* on the front page, Feb. 8, 1868.

⁸ Mar. 14, 1868.

⁹ Rhodes, James F., *History of the United States*, VI, 337.

ever. On the contrary, he thought Sumner had expressed the "most unanimous and deepest" feeling of Americans. But Dana had no desire to see destroyed the precedent England had set in recognizing the belligerent rights of the Confederacy. The early recognition of these was not to be lightly disregarded, with Ireland seeking her independence and sympathetic Fenians lurking on the Canadian border. Collect claims from Great Britain we must; but, if necessary, we could wait and collect them according to the rule she has laid down. Therefore Dana joined a few clear-sighted Americans in condemning Sumner's speech:

Indeed, it demands what no Government can submit to without humiliation, and what we ourselves cannot insist upon without giving a tacit pledge that we are willing to be governed hereafter by the same restriction upon our national action that in this instance we seek to apply to our adversary. But who supposes we are going to yield now or hereafter to an offensive limitation upon our sense of propriety as to the time when we shall recognize a rebellion in any country as entitled to the rights of a belligerent? This is a matter that belongs to our own discretion entirely; and it is unbecoming in Mr. Sumner to lay great stress, as he does, upon the fact that England prematurely recognized the confederacy; and his undertaking to mix up this proceeding in a claim for damages, we regard as childish.¹⁰

The claims enumerated by Sumner totaled the amazing sum of \$2,125,000,000.¹¹ As this was too large to be paid in money, people in this country looked covetously toward the northern border. Indeed, the *Sun* maintained it had yet to hear a valid or convincing argument against the annexation of Canada. Members of the Provincial and Dominion Parliaments were sufficiently corrupt to enter into immediate competition with the best which the United States could offer. In swindling railroad concerns the Canadians were fully our equals.¹²

Dana deeply sympathized with the Fenian movement, and was so bold as to suggest that Ireland be annexed. "The Irish people would then know that they would soon be governed by a legislature and executive of their own choice, and conspiracy and Fenianism would at once come to an end."¹³ A group of Fenians had attempted to invade Canada. This evidence of ill-will convinced him that the only peaceful solution of the Anglo-American problem was the withdrawal of the English flag

¹⁰ May 4, 1869.

¹¹ Rhodes, VI, 339.

¹² July 17, 1869.

¹³ Feb. 28, 1868.

from this hemisphere. The *Sun* maintained that the Canadians were unhappy under their present rulers: "Their fisheries, mining, agriculture and manufactures will never flourish as they might until their picturesque land, with its beautiful bays, lakes, and forests, finds shelter beneath the broad and powerful wings of the American eagle."¹⁴

Cuba in the tropics was as alluring as Canada in the North—providing the United States should annex her before her war for independence devastated the island. Previous to Grant's inauguration the *Sun* had written: "We are confident that President Grant and the new Secretary of State will be found to be earnest adherents of that great and fruitful principle which declares that it is not wholesome or desirable that European powers should continue to rule America any longer than is necessary."¹⁵

Day by day the *Sun* reported "horrors and atrocities" committed upon the Cubans, whose cause of complaint against Spain was "the same as ours against England in 1776, namely taxation without representation."¹⁶ It urged that Grant "direct our Minister at Madrid to interpose an energetic protest against such horrible massacres."¹⁷ In addition, Dana was incensed by violations of the rights of American citizens. "They are everywhere suspected of sympathy with the insurrection, and doubtless in many cases justly, and are treated with great severity by the authorities." The *Sun* suggested we immediately send a naval force sufficient to protect their rights and interests.¹⁸

In New York City, the *Sun* encouraged the activities of the Cuban junta.¹⁹ Filibustering parties left our shores with ammunition for the insurgents, speeded on their way by the *Sun*, although the Government tried to prevent their departure.²⁰ When rebuked for upholding the right of Americans to furnish firearms to a people not yet recognized as belligerents, the *Sun* replied:

But how are we to find out that they are for the use of the Cubans? . . . It strikes us that this is none of our business; and that while arms and ammunition are freely exported hence every week for the Spaniards to kill the Cubans with, we need not prevent the sending of those articles to the ports of other nations,

¹⁴ Feb. 8, 1868.

¹⁵ Feb. 3, 1869.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Mar. 25, 1869.

¹⁸ Feb. 18, 1869.

¹⁹ July 21, 1869.

²⁰ April 24, 1869.

even if those ports should happen to be somewhere in the West Indies. More than this, let us say that we have no more right to prevent such shipments in the one case than in the other.²¹

The *Sun* attacked the "pro-Spanish" activities of Grant and the "masterly inactivity" of Fish at every opportunity. Its prejudice against the Secretary originated in the belief that he had secured his office in return for "one thousand dollars in greenbacks, which he gave to the President a short time before he received the appointment."²² On the other hand, Dana upheld Daniel Sickles, whose service in the Army was characterized by the *Nation* as "a refuge from disgrace."²³ The *Sun* said:

Wisely selected, as we believe, by the President to represent the United States at this critical period at the court of Spain, his approaching departure for his important mission was selected by his fellow-citizens of all parties to testify to his eminent public services and sacrifices to the nation, rendered at a time when the destinies of his country were menaced with most deadly peril. Whatever may have been the antecedents of General Sickles anterior to the war, his eminent and conspicuous patriotism have since fully atoned for the errors of the past.²⁴

In September, the *Sun* announced that we would recognize the independence of Cuba about October 1st. This must have been surprising news to Secretary Fish. According to the *Sun*, negotiations had been forced upon the State department by a rising sympathy for the Cubans. Therefore Sickles had taken a proposal to Madrid by which Spain should recognize the independence of Cuba in return for an indemnity in bonds, guaranteed by the United States and paid by the Cuban Government. In addition he was authorized to intimate that the United States was about to grant belligerent rights to the insurgents. The *Sun* declared: "If these terms are not at once accepted by the Spanish Government, the United States will without further delay recognize the independence of Cuba."²⁵

Dana believed that Spain would come to terms, for he thought the Spanish Government badly in need of money. "Why then refuse a few million for what they must otherwise soon surrender without any consideration at all?" On the other hand, there were reasons to think the Cubans might refuse. "And how foolish they would be if they should

²¹ May 24, 1869.

²² Jan 13, 1870.

²³ Oberholtzer, E. P., *History of the United States*, II, 222.

²⁴ May 22, 1869.

²⁵ Aug. 3, 1869.

agree to an armistice with an enemy who is almost on the point of exhaustion, and who will soon be obliged to abandon the field?"

It is even more probable that our Congress will reject the proposed guaranty of Cuban bonds. Why should we pay fifty millions for Cuba, or agree to do so in any contingency? . . .

There was a way of treating the Cuban question which would have been worthy of the occasion and of this country. It was to support the revolution which the Cubans began so nobly by proclaiming the emancipation of six hundred thousand slaves—a fact without precedent in the history of revolutions. That policy would have been in harmony with the antecedents and the honor of the United States. But Mr. Fish's scheme to force a people who, in the midst of the world's indifference, without any effective friendship anywhere, and with unexampled difficulties and suffering, have brought their cause within sight of victory, into a practical submission to those they have overcome, is not creditable to the statesmen who have devised it, and is destined to a merited and conspicuous failure.²⁶

When the Spanish Government submitted counter terms unacceptable to this country, the *Sun* said:

Gen. Sickles was further directed to inform the Spanish Government that the United States were not anxious to mediate between the parties, and that as Spain seemed unwilling to consider any practicable terms, the attempt to mediate might be regarded as abandoned. This leaves no negotiations on foot, but *does not withdraw the notice that on or about the 1st of October* the United States Government would be compelled by the state of public opinion in this country to recognize the independence of Cuba. This is still in force, and is morally obligatory upon Gen. Grant's administration.²⁷

Dana did not intend that Sickles should be held responsible for unsuccessful negotiations. He informed the *Evening Post* that "Gen. Sickles has not been at fault" and that the "only fault—and it is certainly a great and glaring fault—proceeds from Mr. Secretary Fish at Washington."²⁸

As the *Sun* had predicted, Grant favored the cause of Cuba. Influenced by Rawlins, he signed a proclamation on August 19, 1869, according belligerent rights to the Cuban insurgents. This seemed premature as their warfare consisted mainly of guerilla operations, ambushes, massacres and the burning of estates.²⁹ Consequently Fish, after signing

²⁶ Aug. 3, 1869.

²⁷ Sept. 29, 1869.

²⁸ Nov. 15, 1869.

²⁹ Oberholtzer II, 248

the document, caused it to be deposited in a safe where it remained. In the meantime Rawlins died, and Grant became interested in other affairs.⁸⁰ Later the *Sun* said, "While the brave, the generous, the sagacious Rawlins was alive, there was hope for Cuba."⁸¹

Guided by Fish, Grant declared in his message of December, 1869, that while sympathizing with "all people struggling for liberty and self government" it was "due to our honor" to abstain from enforcing our views upon unwilling nations." To the *Sun*, this was the "weakest and most objectionable" part of the message:

These expressions of barren sympathy for the struggling Cubans are of little value in the face of the fact that the Administration has done all in its power to check the effective expression of the national sympathies of the people, and to prevent the Cubans from receiving that material aid which would have amply sufficed long ago to have settled the matter satisfactorily, and to have added another free State to the glorious cluster of American democracies.⁸²

Such papers as the *Times* and *World* feared that if Grant took steps to recognize Cuba, this would justify Great Britain's conduct toward us during the Civil War and hinder a settlement of the *Alabama* claims.⁸³ The *Sun* asked, "By what right would England open her hypocritical lips, or put forth grasping hands in such an exigency—England, that for two centuries has been filibustering over the wide world, bullying the weak and wheedling the strong, in search of remote territories to annex to her dominions?"

Let her keep on her side of the Atlantic, or, if she would intermeddle with affairs in the West Indies, let her perform an honest and creditable act by ceding to the United States the island of Jamaica in discharge of our *Alabama* claims, lest in some opportune moment, after we have obtained Cuba, we levy upon her whole West India possessions in payment of our righteous demands.⁸⁴

To support its Cuban policy the *Sun* conceded that "on a strict, technical construction of international law," England was probably justified in recognizing the Confederacy as a belligerent, or even as an independent nation. "Our quarrel with her rests purely upon moral grounds," it said. "We maintain that her action was unfriendly, and showed a bad

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 248; Rhodes, VI, 346.

⁸¹ Mar. 5, 1870.

⁸² Dec. 7, 1869.

⁸³ Apr. 13, 1869.

⁸⁴ Apr. 6, 1869.

feeling toward us on her part; but we never have contended that it was unlawful. If we had done so, self-respect would have obliged us to go to war with her at all hazards.”³⁵

The *Sun* was certain that it was the hand of the “feeble Fish” that led the Administration into its un-American foreign policy, and “seduced President Grant.” Its suspicions were strengthened by the fact that Sidney Webster, the Secretary’s son-in-law, “has been acting as counsel for the Spanish Government:”

What we have urged, and what we do contend is, that it is highly indelicate and improper for Mr. Fish to occupy the position of Secretary of State, pursuing a course extremely hostile to Cuba, while at the same time the Spanish Government is pouring money into the pockets of his son-in-law, and, as it were, into the lap of his own family. The circumstances are suspicious.³⁶

Actually there is abundant evidence that Webster never discussed Spanish questions with Fish.

The *Sun*’s hostility to Senator Sumner was increased by his speech in Massachusetts in September, 1869, against the recognition of Cuban independence. It concluded that the country would be better off without the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and headed an editorial, “Mr. Sumner Ought to Retire”:

It is to the last degree important that the head of that committee, at the present juncture, should be a man of calm common sense, and imbued with advanced American ideas on the subject of international law and the extension of the Republic. Of all our conspicuous statesmen, Mr. Sumner is one of the most deficient in these characteristics . . . he made a speech on the Alabama treaty which over-flowed with glittering rhetoric, but was so destitute of sound maxims of law as to excite the contempt of the well trained publicists of England—while on the subject of individual liberty and constitutional government in Cuba he has traduced her struggling patriots, has virtually championed the cause of slavery and the slave trade in the island, and has debased his position by attempting to stem the current of popular feeling in this country, which sets so strongly in favor of Cuban independence.³⁷

On June 17, 1870, the *Sun* published a resolution passed by the House “that the President is hereby authorized to remonstrate against the barbarous manner in which the war in Cuba has been conducted. . . .”

³⁵ Apr. 13, 1869.

³⁶ Jan. 13, 1870.

³⁷ Dec. 14, 1869.

No action on the resolution was ever taken. Its force was diminished by a message to Congress prepared by Fish, in which Grant reiterated the causes against the recognition of Cuban independence. Before many days had passed the *Sun* made a discovery which explained Grant's message of June 13th, as well as other activities of the administration:

. . . the plan for the purchase of Cuba by a ring of speculators, some of whom are in Havana, some in Madrid, and some in Washington, had been maturing . . . the main feature of this plan was first proposed to Burlingame by Gen. Prim himself through the Spanish Minister to China—a Ring was fully organized for the sale of Cuba to third parties, and its subsequent sale to the United States, and for the division among the members of the Ring of sixteen millions of dollars as commissions on the transaction. . . .

The members of this Ring include Sidney Webster, Mr. Fish's son-in-law, and Bancroft Davis, now Mr. Fish's Assistant Secretary of State, who was once bribed with sixty thousand dollars to defraud the Erie Railway Company. . . . And it was the power of this expected money, secretly executed through such creatures as Webster and Davis, and openly through Hamilton Fish that finally brought President Grant—after a fortnight's struggle of resistance to sign this astonishing message on the 13th of June last against Cuba—all to prevent action by Congress in favor of Cuban freedom until this great conspiracy against the honor of the United States could be successfully consummated, and the money be paid and pocketed.³⁸

All the *Sun's* accusations against Fish were unfounded. In time not only the country, but Grant himself came to look upon the course of the Secretary who chose to "stand or fall" on the Cuban question, as one of wisdom and courage.

In the summer of 1869, Grant turned his attention to San Domingo. Baez headed the Republic, and, finding it difficult to subdue the insurrectionists on the island, was willing to sell it to America. The profits of annexation were to be divided by the men who achieved it, a good share going to Baez. Grant sent Orville E. Babcock to look over the Bay of Samaná for a coaling station. Babcock returned with a project for a treaty.³⁹ Fish, who had not been previously consulted, felt compromised and offered his resignation, but yielded out of friendship for Grant. In return he was allowed to carry out his Cuban and British policies.⁴⁰ Had Fish resigned, the *Sun* would have been delighted. Dana was in the habit of announcing his resignation, and hastened to do so

³⁸ July 9, 1870.

³⁹ Rhodes, VI, 341-348.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 348-349.

in the present case. But events obliged the *Sun* to admit that "Don Hamilton Fish, our Spanish Secretary of State, has abandoned the idea of resigning his office and intends to stick. This he does in compliance with the dictates of his own tastes, which are in favor of holding office, and with the desires of President Grant." ⁴¹

Before Babcock had returned from his second expedition, the *Sun* said:

We understand that the conditions of annexation have been fully agreed upon between Gen. Babcock, a confidential officer of Gen. Grant's staff, acting on the part of the President, and the authorities of St. Domingo. . . .

It is to the credit of Gen. Grant that he has thus taken up the policy of that statesman, Seward, and is carrying out his plan by adding the rich and important island to the United States; for of course the annexation of the Spanish part of Hayti must soon be followed by that of the French portion . . . and it needs no prophet to assure us that long before the dawn of the twentieth century, the banner of American unity will be respected as the national standard through all the Antilles.⁴²

As a matter of fact Babcock had completed two treaties. He had arranged for the annexation of the Republic and for the lease of the Bay of Samaná. While he was there the United States Naval officers had placed the American flag over the bay; Admiral Poor had threatened the Haytian Government; and American ships had been used to convoy Baez's troops. In addition the United States was to protect San Domingo from Haytian or other foreign intervention while arrangements were being completed.⁴³ When the *Sun* learned the terms of the treaty, by which this Government should pay \$1,500,000 to liquidate the Dominican debt,⁴⁴ and also of the "swindling" character of the annexation, its interest rapidly declined. It finally denounced the treaty outright:

It is true that the Baez Government is desirous of annexation; so are the large property-holders of the island—the traders and the foreign residents there; but it is by no means certain that the mass of the Dominican people have any such desire. At all events, before the project is consummated, the vote of the natives at large should be taken, and for the returns we should not rely on the local officials, but send trustworthy commissioners to register the votes and see

⁴¹ Jan. 23, 1871.

⁴² Nov. 12, 1869.

⁴³ Oberholtzer, II, 231.

⁴⁴ Rhodes, VI, 349.

that no compulsion is exercised on the people.

In the contest that may follow the annexation dishonestly consummated, the Dominicans will have the sympathy of all nations—that sympathy which men instinctively feel for the weaker party—and covert aid from the European powers whose policy they would be maintaining. . . .

It is quite certain that our people wish to do what is right in this matter; but then the Administration—the Administration that truckles so disgracefully to Spain—may think to balance the account by acts of tyranny toward the Dominicans; or perhaps somebody's brother, or father, or son-in-law may wish to make a little money out of the affair. Considering Mr. Fish's foreign policy so far, nothing which he may do in that respect can astonish anyone.⁴⁵

When the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations made a majority report adverse to the ratification of the treaty,⁴⁶ the *Sun* declared that "All honest American citizens will be delighted to hear that the fraudulent scheme for annexing St. Domingo without the consent of its people is likely to be defeated."⁴⁷ Grant was justly criticized for his personal solicitation of Senators. The arguments which he used were answered in the *Sun* as follows:

Grant: That it will tend to the extirpation of slavery.

The *Sun*: Slavery was extirpated in St. Domingo long before it was abolished in the United States.

Grant: That if we don't take St. Domingo, some European power will.

The *Sun*: This is a bugbear created for the occasion. England and France have today more West India colonies than they want.

Grant: That St. Domingo is a weak power.

The *Sun*: This is a highwayman's argument.

Grant: That it commands the Caribbean Sea.

The *Sun*: This is a geographical error.

In conclusion the *Sun* said, "This St. Domingo annexation business will only be remembered in history as an impudent fraud, in which a well-meaning but indolent and weak President allowed himself to be entangled."⁴⁸

On June 30th the Senate rejected the treaty. Sumner talked so freely against the manner in which it had been negotiated that he won the respect of the *Sun*, which tendered him the "thanks of the country."⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Jan. 25, 1870.

⁴⁶ Rhodes, VI, 349.

⁴⁷ Mar. 16, 1870.

⁴⁸ June 3, 1870.

⁴⁹ July 2, 1870.

But Grant continued with "pig-headed obstinacy" to push the "foul and odious San Domingo job." Although Congress refused to commit itself to annexation, it gave him permission to appoint three commissioners to investigate conditions on the island. The *Sun* commented: "[They] are said to have agreed to make a report in favor of annexing that so-called Republic to the United States. This is a matter of course."⁵⁰

But when the commissioners brought back their favorable report, it was impossible to obtain a two-thirds vote in the Senate or even a majority in the House. In August the *Sun* said:

The President never did a wiser thing than when he apparently gave up the whole job; but his recent action in soliciting private subscriptions to pay the usurper Baez \$150,000 and thus keep open the negotiation for the purchase shows that he was not sincere, and that nothing short of his retirement to private life will end his efforts to consummate the project.⁵¹

As a review of the San Domingo "swindle," the *Sun* published the following editorial:

. . . the Ring first commenced operations in the guise of the Great American West India Company. Its office was in this city at 5 Pine Street. Its officers were Fabens, Cazneau, Kimball, Currier and others of San Domingo notoriety. They managed to sell \$160,000 worth of stock, and then closed their doors in the faces of the purchasers. None of the outside stockholders ever got their money back. . . .

While the sharpers were raising money through the sale of their copper stock in New York, they had already scented a large stake in the Treasury of the United States. This they proposed to gain through a lease of the Bay of Samaná to the Government or through the annexation of San Domingo. . . .

Mr. Seward treated the scheme with scorn. He was willing, however, to lease the Bay of Samaná, and sent a commissioner to Baez with power to make the lease. The commissioner found the New York sharpers on the spot ready to put the money into their pockets, and he reported the fact to Mr. Seward. Thereupon the Secretary abandoned the whole thing, and after that nobody dared whisper annexation to him.

As soon as General Grant was inaugurated as President he seems to have become an associate in this swindle and its most active agent. He sent Gen. Babcock to San Domingo and leased the Bay of Samaná for ten years at an annual rent of \$150,000 in gold. . . .⁵²

⁵⁰ Mar. 23, 1871.

⁵¹ Aug. 4, 1871.

⁵² Mar. 31, 1873.

Sumner's last speech against the Dominican affair had revealed the antagonism which existed between himself and Grant. When the Forty-Second Congress met his name was not on the list prepared by the Republican caucus. The Senate majority was in favor of dropping him. The *Sun* demanded that they "restore Mr. Sumner," because he was the "fittest man for the office":

And why is such a man now sacrificed by the Republican majority of the Senate, the most of whom rose to their present positions after he had won fame in the public councils? The avowed reason is that he differs with Gen. Grant on the subject of the annexation of San Domingo to the United States.

This great wrong to Mr. Sumner may not elevate him to the Presidency, but it will certainly put an end to the public career of Gen. Grant on the 4th of March, 1872.⁵³

The *Sun* was less charitable to Motley, the Minister to Great Britain, whom Grant asked to resign as a result of his quarrel with Sumner over San Domingo. It called him "useless" and said that his whole case was marked from first to last by striking and even ludicrous features:

The dénouement of Mr. Motley's career as Minister to England is one of the most curious and instructive incidents in our diplomatic history. . . .

We believe him fully when he says he tried his best to follow the instructions of his government. But, really, the truth must be confessed; he did not know enough to do it. . . .

The President should not have appointed him. The Senate should not have confirmed him. He was not a fit man for the post.⁵⁴

In the fall of 1870, the *Sun* urged Senator Morton, whom it believed would be our new minister to England, to proceed directly to that country and take up his duties. Motley had remained there until peremptorily removed in December. This was no time for tarrying, the *Sun* said. If the *Alabama* claims were ever to be settled it must be "now or never":

England is distracted at home by popular upheavings and by the unsettled and disturbed state of Ireland. Abroad she has no friends save the Sultan of Turkey. Her selfishness has disgusted all mankind, and it is difficult to say whether the masses of the British people are more irritated against their ruling classes, or the masses of the nations against the British Government.

Closely pressed by Russia in the East, England should be now made to pay us a handsome indemnity for her ravages upon our commerce, or take the risk of

⁵³ Mar. 10, 1871.

⁵⁴ Jan. 12, 1871.

our coalition with the Czar in destroying her prestige in the Orient and her empire in India.⁵⁵

However uneasy, Great Britain refused to submit the subject of Canadian independence to the popular vote of the Dominion. Fish proceeded with negotiations, asking only for an expression of regret on the part of England, an acceptable declaration of principles of maritime neutrality, and the payment of claims.⁵⁶ Through the aid of John Rose a more amiable correspondence was begun. It was soon agreed that the differences should be submitted to a Joint High Commission, which should provide a mode of settlement and the machinery therefor. Announcing this, the *Sun* said that "it is almost certain that the ultimate effect of the High Commission created by Queen Victoria and Gen. Grant will be a considerable loss to the American treasury."⁵⁷ A few days later it took a more hopeful view:

It is quite evident that England, in consenting to send over here half a dozen able men, several of them specialists in the *Alabama* Controversy, to settle the differences between the two nations, has committed herself to an adjustment favorable to the American claims. The most active minded, an astute of the foreign diplomatists at Washington, held that the concession of the Commission involves all other concessions.

The British Government is fully aware of what is expected here; and, in determining to have such a Commission, it has made up its mind to close all outstanding controversies in a manner satisfactory to the United States.

But while the way is thus clear for a general squaring of existing accounts, there are important future contingencies to be provided for also. Among these is an agreement upon the course the two countries will hereafter take in regard to future *Alabama* cases, and the consideration of existing defects in the laws for the enforcement of international obligations. But more important than these is the question of future Fenian raids upon the Canadian dominion. How are new complications arising out of this fruitful source of irritation and embarrassment to be hereafter avoided? It seems impossible to attain this important object in any way but one. This is by final and complete separation of the Dominion from the parent government.⁵⁸

By the Washington Treaty of May 24, 1871, a tribunal to settle the American claim for damages was agreed upon. When the arbitrators

⁵⁵ Sept. 28, 1870.

⁵⁶ Feb. 15, 1871.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Feb. 24, 1871.

met at Geneva, Bancroft Davis presented the Case of the United States. He was one of Dana's pet anathemas. As the *Albany Times* said:

One of the most curious incidents of the journalism of the period is the persistent manner in which the New York *Sun* iterates and reiterates, day after day, and month after month, the charge against J. C. Bancroft Davis, that he betrayed the interests of the Erie Railroad Company, while he was one of its Directors, for a bribe of \$60,000 and that he is consequently unfit to hold any office of trust. . . .⁵⁹

Various correspondents criticized this unjust treatment of Davis. One man called the *Sun's* accusations "very bad taste, in fact ungentlemanly."⁶⁰ Other readers said it went too far in its vindictive feeling and that the alleged evidences of Davis's dishonesty which were quoted did not sustain the charges. But Dana only attacked Davis more bitterly than ever.⁶¹

Davis revived the indirect claims that Sumner had so forcibly presented. Again Great Britain was aroused to wrath, with which the *Sun* sympathized:

It is a well settled principle both of English and American law that remote and consequential damages cannot be recovered; . . . this sound rule of law and policy has been disregarded. The Administration has proceeded like a village pettifogger, who crowds into his complaint everything that he can conceive against the adverse party, adding to what is just and well founded a thousand things which he knows to be unjust and absurd, but which he thinks will lend to it an appearance of additional importance.⁶²

The attempt to revive the indirect claims threatened to prevent a settlement. But since both countries were anxious to make terms, the arbitration was finally pushed to a successful conclusion. The United States was awarded \$15,500,000 in gold for damages done by the *Alabama*, *Florida*, and *Shenandoah*. A few years later the *Sun* made some strange and absurd charges:

The secret history of the treaty for the settlement of the *Alabama* Claims is yet to be written. Many grave scandals connected with that matter have long been floating about Washington. It is believed that large sums of money were then placed where they would do the most good and that high social elements

⁵⁹ Oct. 1, 1870.

⁶⁰ Aug. 29, 1870.

⁶¹ Sept. 12, 1870.

⁶² Feb. 10, 1872.

were enlisted in this service at the capital, never before suspected of diplomatic or other jobbery.

Schenck was one of the Commissioners, and knows all about the appliances that were used to consummate a bargain, in which this government disgracefully retreated from all its original demands, consented to eat humble pie, and surrendered to Great Britain principles that the United States had always asserted in connection with the duties of neutrals in time of war. . . .

For his services on this occasion, Schenck was rewarded with the mission to St. James. . . .⁶³

Another matter which the *Sun* claimed that Secretary of State Fish handled without courage or intelligence was the case of the *Virginius*. This steamer, flying the American flag was conveying men and arms to the rebels in Cuba. Sighting her off Jamaica, Spaniards captured her and towed her into the port of Santiago, where they shot her captain and many of her crew and passengers. Fish attempted to secure the release of those prisoners who remained alive, the return of the *Virginius* and suitable reparations. But Sickles, Minister at Madrid, lacked diplomatic ability and it was necessary to transfer the negotiations to Washington. The *Virginius* was eventually returned to the United States, and the survivors conveyed to New York. But because the owners had obtained their American papers through perjury, the salute to the flag, demanded by Fish, was dispensed with.⁶⁴ Dana scored the failure of the Secretary of State to do his duty:

. . . it is interesting to contrast the threats with which Mr. Fish sets out with the contemptible satisfaction he secures. For instance, on November 6, he telegraphed to Gen. Sickles that "ample reparations will be demanded if American citizens have been wrongfully executed . . ."

And yet after all this, American citizens have been wrongfully executed and no reparation has been obtained; while the restoration of the *Virginius* was performed at a place and under circumstances that only aggravate the original insult. And even the ceremony of saluting the flag has not been required because evidence procured in behalf of Spain at great expense by Mr. Fish's son-in-law was held by a venal Attorney-General sufficient to overthrow the character of the *Virginius* and to brand her owner with perjury, although he had not been allowed to be present and hear the rebuttal of this evidence. . . .

The sum of the whole matter is that fifty-three men, snatched from the deck of an American vessel, which "Spain had no right to capture on the high seas" were, to use Mr. Fish's own words, "brutally and barbarously murdered"; and

⁶³ Feb. 8, 1876.

⁶⁴ Latane, 500.

that neither reparation, indemnity, nor any guarantee for the future has been exacted.⁶⁵

As a result of the affair, Sickles resigned and Caleb Cushing, a man of learning and distinction, was sent to Madrid to take his place. Dana considered the change distinctly for the worse:

It is not surprising that the appointment of Mr. Caleb Cushing as Minister to Spain should have been hailed by the Spanish newspapers in Cuba which applauded the capture of the *Virginus* and the murder of her crew, as one eminently fit to be made, nor that the righteous soul of Burriel should have been gladdened by it. It is only fair to say that Mr. Cushing is eminently worthy of all the admiration and confidence that those journals and that butcher can lavish on him. If not exactly fit to be trusted by his own country, he is just the kind of a man that a foreign nation, on the eve of a quarrel with it, would choose. . . .

Mr. Cushing is a conspicuous case of a man without principles and convictions. . . .

Since the accession of Grant to the Presidency Mr. Cushing has been a sort of backstairs counselor of the Administration, and more particular of the Department of State. He has furnished dispatches and opinions to order, for all of which he has been paid handsomely, and is said to be enormously rich. . . .⁶⁶

Throughout the remainder of Grant's Administration Dana championed the cause of Cuba. Stories of Mexican raids and the robbery and murder of American citizens along the border were reported, convincing Dana that Mexico also should be annexed. But "the Administration seems to look upon these outrages with comparative indifference," said the *Sun*. Had we not a weak Government, its first step would be to extend protection to all our citizens.⁶⁷ Yet Dana accused Grant of plotting a war with Mexico, not only to satisfy his anti-Catholic feelings but to assist in his third term drive.⁶⁸

On June 1, 1877, President Hayes was obliged to direct General Ord to pursue Mexicans who invaded our territory. The *Sun* complained as bitterly of the "excessive activity" of the Hayes Administration as it had of the "comparative indifference" of Grant. Hayes, it said, was anxious to bring on a war for the benefit of a ring of annexationists:

⁶⁵ Jan. 7, 1874.

⁶⁶ Jan. 8, 1874.

⁶⁷ Apr. 28, 1875.

⁶⁸ Jan. 5, 1876.

. . . Hayes, discarding any guise of moderation, is raiding into Mexican towns and laying hands upon Mexican civil authorities. His raiders are now apparently ordered to go everywhere . . . ; if opposed they are to sweep the Mexican troops from their path.

Such outrages are without precedent in our history as a nation. Playing into the hands of the Annexation Ring and the Bogus Claim Ring, Mr. Hayes' conduct is directly calculated to force war upon Mexico, as if with the view of wrenching from her five or six of her border states. . . .

Are the people ready for Hayes' war of annexation? ⁶⁹

After the recognition of President Porfirio Diaz, the raids continued. The *Sun* said that most of these troubles were "fabricated for effect, and to excite prejudice in order to promote a sinister and selfish policy." It also accused Secretary Evarts of using Mexico as a political card to be played as a "desperate lead." "They will not scruple to bring on a war, for they believe that any war, no matter what the cause, must be popular at this time; that the prospect of acquiring territory will divert attention from the Great Fraud; and that Hayes will gain popularity at the South if he emulates the example of Polk and acquires another slice of Mexican territory." ⁷⁰ It urged Congress to investigate and to condemn Hayes for his policy.

The career of Blaine as Secretary of State under Garfield was short and, according to Dana, would have been better had it been shorter. "The more we learn of Mr. Blaine's performance during his occupation of the State Department, the less reason we see for regretting that his tenure of office was brief." ⁷¹ The *Sun* assumed that Blaine had a predilection for suppressing correspondence. Upon his retirement it accused him of holding back certain diplomatic dispatches and adroitly selecting others which would exhibit his conduct in the Peruvian controversy in the most favorable light. ⁷²

On November 29, 1881, Blaine had extended to the Latin-American republics an invitation to a general congress, November, 1882, for the purpose of discussing the methods of preventing war. "Our people have reasons to severely condemn the general policy announced in the circular letter by which the Spanish American republics were invited to take part in a conference at Washington," the *Sun* said. The reasons advanced would lead one to believe that all of Dana's dreams of expansion and

⁶⁹ Aug. 22, 1878.

⁷⁰ Sept. 9, 1878.

⁷¹ Jan. 17, 1882.

⁷² Dec. 14, 1881.

industrial penetration had been dropped, and that he had become an isolationist. The *Sun* said later that the call for the Pan-American Congress "contemplated a species of confederacy and protectorate which would have plunged us into serious complications, and might have ultimately led to annexation, a result which nobody in this country desires." No Spanish-American republic except Chile would be a desirable acquisition "and Chili has been permanently alienated by the Minister whom Mr. Blaine saw fit to send to Lima."

Yet the *Sun* remained as anxious for expansion as ever. In an editorial "Annexation the True Remedy," it again set forth reasons why Canada should become part of the United States. Complaining of the growing indifference to the Dominion, it continued:

But that indifference will soon be changed into deep and active interest when the conditions are altered, that is when Canada obtains admission to the Union, as it must some day, we shall look with pride on our new Northern States, and watch their development with affectionate solicitude.

The argument which Mr. Goldwin Smith used for the removal of the tariff is a strong argument for the union of the two countries—for the annexation of Canada to the United States. They "not only lie close to each other, they project into each other; they are dovetailed together." Nature demands that they should be one, and their common interests enforce the demand.⁷³

The *Sun* was proud that America was the refuge of oppressed peoples, It welcomed all races, including the Japanese and Chinese. When Dana became editor, the "heathen Chinese" were already antagonizing people on the Pacific Coast. To those who viewed the continuance of immigration under the Burlingame Treaty distrustfully, the *Sun* replied that they lacked judgment:

The essence of wealth of this country is its skilled labor, and no addition to that labor can result in anything but benefit to the community. For every producer of one commodity becomes a consumer of many other commodities and the more he earns by his own toil the more he has to spend in buying the products of the toil of others.⁷⁴

It advanced other arguments. "Before we proceed to decide whether or not we will permit the Chinese to settle among us, we had better first consider whether we have the moral right to do so." ⁷⁵ It also believed

⁷³ Mar. 31, 1884.

⁷⁴ June 1, 1869.

⁷⁵ July 12, 1869.

that the South might find advantages in an influx of Chinese labor. Dana pointed out the inconsistency of the United States, if, while eager for the privileges of residing, traveling and trading in China, we adopted a policy of restriction in this country.⁷⁶

What Dana's attitude toward this problem might have been had he lived in San Francisco is indicated by a *Sun* statement that the influx of European workers into "this port" will, "ere long greatly reduce the existing rates of wages, which are now considered too small, unless some system of emigration from this city can be devised."⁷⁷ Distance from the problem was not conducive to an understanding and for the most part East and West disagreed on the subject.

Subsequently a commission was sent to China to secure a modification of the Burlingame Treaty, and in Arthur's Administration a bill was passed restricting the immigration of skilled and unskilled Chinese labor for ten years. This inaugurated a new policy in America and a gradual change in attitude of the Eastern press accompanied it. More frequent mention of imported Communism, Anarchism and undesirables appeared in the *Sun*. Although Dana argued against certain immigration bills, calling them "fraudulent," "ineffective," or "humbugs," he came to believe that the influx of foreigners was against the interest of American labor.

When Ferdinand de Lesseps' plan for building a canal was made known in Paris, the New Granada agreement, now binding upon Colombia, and the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty were reviewed to determine their exact meaning. Early in 1880, Congress asked Hayes for all correspondence on Isthmian transit.⁷⁸ It was the President's opinion that either the canal should be under American control or there should be no canal.⁷⁹ The *Sun* argued that this was a foolish attitude:

If the commercial world has come to the conclusion that a ship canal across the Isthmus of Darien is necessary, that canal must sooner or later be constructed. If we say to the world, "No canal shall be constructed which we do not control," will not the great commercial nations reply: "Very well then, construct the canal. We want a canal. The commerce of the world demands it; our interests demand it; progress demands it. You cannot play the dog in the manger. If you think that you must control the canal, go right ahead and dig it.

⁷⁶ July 22, 1869.

⁷⁷ June 9, 1869.

⁷⁸ Latane, 306-322; Oberholtzer, IV, 706-715.

⁷⁹ Oberholtzer, IV, 716; Latane, 518.

All we ask is to be allowed to share its commercial advantages on equal terms. All we want is to shorten ocean voyages and lessen their risks. If you want any advantages of a different sort, we don't know that we shall object. But the canal we must have, and you must either construct it or allow somebody else to do it."

It also asserted that no great power would seek to quarrel with America. "France, Germany, and Great Britain will cheerfully recognize our right to guard our interests in the Isthmus, and will readily admit the force of our claims consequent upon our proximity to the locality," but they would never allow us to stand in the way of commercial progress.⁸⁰

In May, 1880, the House Foreign Committee reported a joint resolution for the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. The *Sun* said it was well it should be annulled "if Congress is too indolent or ignorant to reprove its violations by Mr. R. B. Hayes." It reported that the President "by a petty trick" proposed to trace titles to footholds on the Isthmus through alleged private owners, and said he was seeking "to hurt the de Lesseps canal by a mysterious counter movement." He was prying into all parts of the Chiriqui lagoon, sounding, surveying and landing without consulting the local authorities or informing them of his purpose.⁸¹ The *Sun* reported that Ernest Diechman, Minister to Colombia, had set out for Bogotá carrying "explanations which would remove all obstacles to the annexation of Colombian territory." But since he succeeded "in creating an impression considerably more unfavorable than the one he was deputed to dispel" such hope must be abandoned.⁸²

It was thought the de Lessep project would be finished in eight years and much interest was aroused in this country. Blaine sent Great Britain a statement of our position which entirely disregarded the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. She answered reminding us of the agreement. Later Secretary Frelinghuysen reiterated the arguments set forth by his predecessor: the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was a contract for the accomplishment of a specific purpose; Great Britain had herself violated it in taking possession of British Honduras—therefore the treaty was void. Furthermore, he invoked the Monroe Doctrine.⁸³ On June 7, 1882, the *Sun* joyfully announced that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty had been repudiated in the

⁸⁰ Apr. 8, 1880.

⁸¹ May 9, 1880.

⁸² May 19, 1880.

⁸³ Latane, 523-524.

United States. Evidently, in Dana's opinion, the sanctity of a treaty depended upon who violated it:

Mr. Blaine, whose imperfect knowledge of international law and diplomatic history was demonstrated by his action in the South American embroilment and the Guatemala boundary question, committed the blunder of admitting in one of his dispatches, the present validity of the convention negotiated by Mr. Clayton and Sir Henry Bulwer in 1850, while he urged the British Government to consent to a modification of its provisions. This was a grave mistake for it left us without a remedy, provided Lord Granville, as probably he would do, should reject Mr. Blaine's proposition. A more careful examination of the text of the convention above named, of the circumstances under which it was concluded, and of the action of the British Government under it, has convinced the present Administration that the obligations of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty are no longer binding on us, and that it is our true policy to clearly and firmly proclaim the fact.

A little later the Frelinghuysen-Savala Treaty with Nicaragua was drafted, under which the Clayton-Bulwer agreement was deliberately violated. Dana opposed this, however; probably because it was intended to benefit a group of Americans who had organized the Maritime Canal Company in which U. S. Grant was interested. When Cleveland came into office in 1885 he withdrew the treaty from the Senate on the grounds that it would bring us into "entangling alliances with foreign states." The *Sun* said, "Thanks to Mr. Bayard, and the great majority of the Democratic Senators, the Nicaragua Canal Treaty in its present suspicious form, may be looked upon as dead."⁸⁴

In discussing the necessity of Government aid to de Lesseps the *Sun* said, "France will be almost irresistibly impelled to seek a degree of control over the Isthmus of Panama which would be counter to our national interests and our treaty rights." It added that one fact was certain—America would never allow the French flag to fly over Panama.⁸⁵ England became the largest stockholder in the Suez Canal and what England did under Beaconsfield, "France may do tomorrow under Boulanger." "Our Congress had not a day to lose."⁸⁶ In 1889, the *Sun* praised President Harrison for the stand which he took against any French control of the Isthmian channel:

⁸⁴ Jan. 31, 1885.

⁸⁵ May 2, 1888.

⁸⁶ Jan. 9, 1889.

How well timed was the reference to the Panama Canal in Mr. Harrison's inaugural address is made clear by Thursday's proceedings in the French Chamber of Deputies. The new President declared that we could not permit a European Government to assume such relations to an American interoceanic waterway as would tend to the assertion of control. . . .⁸⁷

The fisheries articles of the Treaty of Washington were abrogated in 1885 and American fisherman no longer had the privilege of inshore fishing, bait-purchasing and trans-shipment of cargoes which they had previously enjoyed.⁸⁸ Once more the *Sun's* solution was the annexation of Canada. It reminded its readers "that in all the great crises of our history, England has been our most active, aggressive, and dangerous enemy!"⁸⁹ At another time it said that England was alarmed for the future of Canada, but refused to accept the only possible remedy for "the dry rot from which it is suffering." "Canada must come into the American Union or starve out in the cold."⁹⁰

Cleveland and his Secretary of State planned to negotiate a treaty with England. Canada and Great Britain were willing to co-operate. Therefore, despite the opposition of New England leaders, a joint commission was arranged. Men, cognizant of the fishing problems and acquainted with international law were appointed. By February, 1888, the Chamberlain-Bayard Treaty had been drafted. But before it had gone to the Senate, where it was to be rejected, the *Sun* attacked Cleveland's part in its making:

The small matter of the Commercial rights of the fishermen of Marblehead and Gloucester . . . ceased to trouble an Executive whose prophetic vision grasped the whole future of a continent.

The object of the President's pet scheme of a joint commission was no longer to settle the fishery dispute. It was to negotiate a broad and lasting treaty of reciprocity or commercial union with Canada. . . .

With this loftier object in view, nothing more was said about the specific commercial rights of the fishermen. . . .

But meanwhile President Cleveland had apparently discovered that the cherished vision of a reciprocal free trade treaty was not to be realized. The tariff was a matter which must be settled by Congress, not by the Executive. . . . This cold fact was what interfered with the plan of Mr. Cleveland and Sir

⁸⁷ Mar. 10, 1889.

⁸⁸ Nevins, Allan, *Grover Cleveland*, 405.

⁸⁹ Feb. 26, 1888.

⁹⁰ Apr. 6, 1888.

Charles Tupper to overhaul the entire commercial relations of the two countries. And in reaching at the shadow of reciprocity the actual bone of the fishermen's rights has been dropped into the depths. The surrender has been made in vain.⁹¹

Two days after the Chamberlain-Bayard Treaty was defeated, Cleveland sent Congress a message in which he recommended legislative action conferring upon the Executive power to suspend the operation of regulations permitting the transit of goods, wares, and merchandise in bond between the United States and Canada.⁹² The *Sun* interpreted this message as a belligerent step, deliberately taken against Canada for the purpose of putting "the nose of the cocky Dominion upon the grindstone." It praised the message.⁹³

Toward the end of Cleveland's first term, Congress passed an act authorizing the President to invite the Latin-American republics to a Conference in Washington in October, 1889. When the time came, Harrison was President and Blaine Secretary of State. Choosing between the "pro-British" Cleveland and the Anglophobe, Blaine, the *Sun* preferred the latter. Blaine, it announced, "would pursue a bold, original definite policy, popular with the American nation, appealing strongly to imagination and sentiment, and securing results of permanent value." "In what direction will our flag first move—northward into Canada, southward across the Rio Grande or to some of the Antilles, or westward over the ocean which, in ten or twenty years, will be the highway of a new and great American commerce?"⁹⁴

Blaine welcomed the delegates on October 2, 1889. The conference proposed a treaty for freer commercial relations and the settlement of all difficulties by conciliation and arbitration. When its work was concluded, the *Sun* said, "The time is far distant when even partial reciprocity between the countries of this hemisphere as regards the free interchange of their respective products may be expected. So, too, the establishment of a common monetary system will follow rather than precede the creation of more intimate relations."⁹⁵ After the McKinley Bill was passed, incorporating reciprocity provisions, the *Sun* was more optimistic but as usual it was guided by nationalism:

⁹¹ Apr. 24, 1888.

⁹² Nevins, *Cleveland*, 412.

⁹³ Aug. 24, 1888.

⁹⁴ Nov. 14, 1889.

⁹⁵ Apr. 21, 1890.

The full purpose and ultimate significance of the reciprocity programme conceived by Mr. Blaine did not at first reveal themselves to the public mind. Even the commercial and industrial advantages derivable from such a policy were not instantly and clearly appreciated. Still less has the political significance of the scheme, the most capacious ever formed by an American statesman since Thomas Jefferson planned the purchase of Louisiana, been at once distinctly recognized. Yet a little reflection must convince us that under the guidance of Secretary Blaine we have entered on a course whose fixed and by no means distant goal is the acquirement for the United States of not only commercial but political ascendance throughout the Western hemisphere.⁹⁶

Under Blaine the United States was given an opportunity to annex the Hawaiian Islands. The owners of rich sugar plantations there found their profits cut by the McKinley Tariff Act and wanted to benefit from the American bounty. They instigated a revolution and succeeded in deposing Queen Liliuokalani. The American Minister, John Stevens, did all in his power to assist the overthrow by recognizing the Provisional Government while the Queen was in her palace, by raising the American flag and proclaiming an American protectorate. The *Sun* said that Stevens had only done, in the interest of Hawaiian peace and order, what presently must have been done in the name of a wise and patriotic policy by our Government at Washington.⁹⁷ It exerted its influence to effecting the annexation of Hawaii:

Mr. Blaine lived almost to see the day when the question of the ultimate possession of the Sandwich Island, the key to the North Pacific, must be promptly decided by the action or apathy of our government. . . .

The question presented to Congress by the arrival of the Hawaiian delegates is not a question of partisan politics but of national opportunity and manifest destiny.⁹⁸

The *Sun* pointed out that it would be as easy to frame a "satisfactory and constitutional government" for Hawaii "as a part of the United States" as it had been "in the case of the District of Columbia or Alaska." "The character of the population of Hawaii, therefore, has nothing to do with the question presented to Congress."⁹⁹ It dwelt upon the superiority of Hawaii over Pearl Harbor as a repair and coaling station for

⁹⁶ May 9, 1891.

⁹⁷ Feb. 11, 1893.

⁹⁸ Jan. 30, 1893.

⁹⁹ Feb. 7, 1893.

American ships, especially in time of war.¹⁰⁰ It quoted Capt. A. T. Mahan, one of the "foremost of American experts in naval strategy," to prove that Hawaii was indispensable to the success of the navy in case of conflict in the Far East. Then it added:

. . . but incomparably more important is the general principle which the American people, through no desire of their own, are called upon to settle for all time. This country is suddenly brought to the parting of the ways, and must choose between them. One leads to a restricted, the other to a broad and lofty destiny. . . .

Indeed, the very fact that the islands might be seized by a possible enemy constitutes so serious a menace to our Pacific coast and our Pacific trade, that this, although a negative and hypothetical consideration, should be enough to decide the pending question. . . .¹⁰¹

But the irregular way in which the United States had assisted the insurgents had immediately provoked criticism. In answer to the protests of the *Evening Post*, the *Sun* said, "That Mugwump organ is always opposed to any policy of procedure which expresses the American sentiment and tends to strengthen it." "The respect rather than the good will of foreign powers is what we want."¹⁰²

Cleveland, opposed to the annexation of Hawaii, sent James H. Blount to obtain accurate information regarding the causes of revolution and report the facts of the case.¹⁰³ Upon his arrival in Hawaii he discovered the flag still flying and United States Marines on duty. The *Sun* soon reported:

The flag is down and the quasi protectorate established at the time of the revolution by Minister Stevens on his own responsibility is at an end.

But is it likewise true that the President's mind is made up to defeat annexation if he can, and that the repudiation of Mr. Stevens' act is only an incident in the execution of a predetermined and fixed policy adverse to the ultimate acquisition of these islands by the United States? . . .

How the present Administration could do otherwise than order the flag down is not clearly apparent. Minister Stevens' unauthorized act, which the ceremony of April 1, repudiated, had previously been disavowed even by Gen. Harrison's administration. . . .

But although the flag, which never ought to have been raised in the manner employed by Mr. Stevens, is down again, and although the marines . . . are aboard ship again, the American protectorate, in fact, remains. . . . It applies

¹⁰⁰ Feb. 4, 1893.

¹⁰¹ Mar. 1, 1893.

¹⁰² Feb. 2, 1893.

¹⁰³ Nevins, *Cleveland*, 552-553.

to every foreign power. "Hands Off" is the Cleveland policy as conveyed by Mr. Blount. If this is not protection, what is! ¹⁰⁴

Cleveland and Secretary Gresham concluded that the treaty should be abandoned and efforts were made to reinstate the Queen. It was a decision much against public sentiment; and the *Sun*, asking how Cleveland expressed the sympathy of true Americans for a people struggling for political emancipation, answered:

By holding the representatives of the new Republic in suspense and ignorance of his intentions, until he had perfected in secret a plan for the destruction of their Republican Government, and had issued orders for the restoration of the monarchy they had overthrown and then by thrusting back upon that people the dethroned Queen, saying: "Take her, your legitimate ruler, or be shot down by American guns." ¹⁰⁵

The predicament into which the President thrust himself by his "Hawaiian performance" (that is, by his futile expressions of a desire for the restoration of the Queen) delighted Dana. But Cleveland's "ridiculous" moral sympathy for the colored potentate, who had spoken of revenging herself by decapitations, was not as funny as his final resolve to place the matter in the hands of Congress:

There is a Malvolio-like complacency blended with a lofty compassion in Mr. Cleveland's announcement to Congress that he is inclined to treat leniently the present rulers of Hawaii and their supporters, when they capitulate, because, "though not entitled to extreme sympathy, they have been led to their present predicament of revolt against the Government of the Queen" by Mr. Stevens.

Isn't it awful, this "predicament of revolt" against a Queen? Mr. Cleveland's own predicament of trying to restore a throne, and being forced to back down, is nothing in comparison.

The American people owe little to Mr. Cleveland for his Hawaiian performance, yet they are indebted to him for some additional knowledge of Queen Liliuokalani. It appears from his message that the reason why he has not yet restored this esteemed contemporary to power, is because she would not agree to be merciful to the misguided people who dethroned her! That is the kind of Queen she is; and it was for this savage potentate that Mr. Cleveland has been trying to put down a Government, which, as Admiral Skerrett declared, before he was superseded, has given Hawaii the best rule it ever had. This is the outcome of Mr. Cleveland's misuse of his authority as President up to the present time; and it causes him to plume himself on "honor, integrity and morality." ¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Apr. 15, 1893.

¹⁰⁵ Nov. 13, 1893.

¹⁰⁶ Dec. 21, 1893.

In a more serious vein, the *Sun* said, "Nothing was needed to complete the history of the Policy of Infamy but a direct, definite, and formal confession from the President of the United States, of his complicity in the plot to overthrow a friendly Government in diplomatic relations with our own, and to re-establish a rotten monarchy in the Hawaiian Islands." Dana advised impeachment.¹⁰⁷

In an editorial entitled "Shame on the Administration!" the *Sun* announced that although the new Government was firmly established, Mr. Cleveland refused to recognize it because of his "personal spite and stubbornness."¹⁰⁸ One week later it reversed this announcement, and congratulated Charles A. Boutelle for his success "in forcing the administration into a tardy and ungracious recognition of the Hawaiian Republic." When in 1897, the treaty for the annexation of Hawaii was signed and its ratification seemed assured, the *Sun* exclaimed, "All hail, Hawaii! All honor to President McKinley!"¹⁰⁹

When the settlement of the Venezuela dispute was pending Dana again advised his familiar remedy: annex the territory.¹¹⁰ But he evinced greater interest in the question as to whether or not America had a right to invoke the Monroe Doctrine in disputes between South American countries. In 1870, the *Sun* had said that Monroe's statement had been "a harmless little swagger, indicating nothing."¹¹¹ But in March, 1895, it asked:

Will it be said that we are not parties to the quarrel, and have no business to interpose? We must, then, abjure the Monroe Doctrine, which was originally promulgated, and has ever since been asserted, upon grounds identical with those presented by the actual high-handed aggression on a sister American republic. It was because the European powers united in the Holy Alliance were disposed to aid Spain to recover her revolted American colonies that President Monroe in 1823 made the memorable declaration. . . .¹¹²

Venezuela, unable to defend herself against Great Britain, asked for arbitration. In February, 1895, the *Sun* announced that "the resolution passed by the House recommending the settlement of the boundary dis-

¹⁰⁷ Jan. 9, 1895.

¹⁰⁸ Aug 7, 1894.

¹⁰⁹ June 17, 1897. Dana continued to advocate ratification of the treaty until July 25 when Congress adjourned without taking any action. *Sun*, Jul. 14, 16, 17, 18, 20, 24, 1897.

¹¹⁰ Mar 6, 1895.

¹¹¹ Dec. 7, 1870.

¹¹² Mar. 12, 1895.

pute between British Guiana and Venezuela by a resort to arbitration, contains sound advice to England.”¹¹³

The *Sun's* advice to fall back upon the Monroe Doctrine was to be carried out. After the death of Gresham, Richard Olney had continued the drafting of a statement on the Venezuela affair. The message, eventually sent to Lord Salisbury, intimated that separation by distance and water made “any permanent political union between a European and an American state unnatural and inexpedient.” It defined the Monroe Doctrine in a broader sense than ever before and stated that the United States had come to the point where it must interfere. It demanded a definite decision as to whether Great Britain would or would not submit the dispute to impartial arbitration. Lord Salisbury replied November 26, refusing either to accept the new interpretation given the Monroe Doctrine or to submit the matter to arbitration.

In his message of December 17, 1895, Cleveland maintained that if the Monroe Doctrine was valid in any sense, it applied to all European attempts to extend their system of government on this continent. He claimed Great Britain should have submitted the dispute to arbitration, but since she had not done so, it was the duty of the United States to determine the true boundary line. He asked Congress for authority to appoint a commission. He was fully alive to the responsibility incurred and the consequences that might follow.¹¹⁴

Dana was delighted and entitled a leading editorial “Venezuela and War.” Stating that “no jingo has overstepped the mark now toed by the Hon. Grover Cleveland,” the *Sun* continued:

Probably the situation presented in President Cleveland's message to Congress on the question of Venezuela will lose its seeds of conflict before any actual clash between the United States and England.

If the eccentric statesman . . . who now occupies the White House had dealt with the Venezuela affair from the beginning in the creditable spirit shown in his message it is a question whether the situation would not now be satisfactory and without danger of war. We cannot say. . . .

Mr. Cleveland has borrowed a new uniform, but all the same it is the American uniform, and the country will follow the man who wears it. For the Monroe Doctrine, as enunciated in the President's message, the people of the United States are solid and enthusiastic. And the continuation of this interesting and important business by the Administration will be watched and sustained with

¹¹³ Feb. 11, 1895.

¹¹⁴ Jones, Robert L., *History of the Foreign Policy of the United States*, 478-479, Nevins, Cleveland, 639-641; Latane, 479-488.

an unflinching spirit of pride and determination to uphold the interests of the United States.

Let the good work go on! ¹¹⁵

Congress hastened to sanction the commission. But within less than a month the *Sun* recorded that "Numerous English observers and their friends, our Mugwumps, have made an immense display of highly moral indignation over the alleged bellicosity of President Cleveland's message." ¹¹⁶ Dana seemed as pleased with this state of affairs as he was with the message itself.

"Why England Has Come Down" titled an editorial, explaining the change which took place in British sentiment. The English had no more desire for war with this country than did Cleveland's critics in America. But the *Sun* claimed the change in attitude was due primarily to the stand taken by Cleveland and Olney of our will and purpose to enforce the Monroe Doctrine against British aggression "even to the extremity of war." Dana gave most of the credit to Olney:

Here is a gentleman, regarded until quite recently as a shrewd corporation lawyer and an expert at lawn tennis, who suddenly develops qualities such as mark the heroes of whom nations are proud. He has attempted and achieved the thing that seemed impossible. He has reversed the whole foreign policy of the Administration. He has blotted out the ignominy of his predecessor's record of subservience and surrender. . . .

He has mastered a will that was supposed to break every time before bending, and with no beating of drums, but, we are sure with the profound inner satisfaction, has marched the President back into the American camp, where the headquarters of an American President properly are. ¹¹⁷

Before a final report was made by the commission, the United States and Great Britain agreed upon a treaty which bound the two nations to refer all their disputes for the next five years to a tribunal or arbitration. In January, 1897, Cleveland submitted the Olney-Pauncefoot Treaty to the Senate with a message of approval. ¹¹⁸ England accepted it with alacrity. The Mugwumps led a spirited campaign of approval, but not Dana's *Sun*.

Blatantly contradicting itself, the *Sun* said that arbitration "is not the ideal achievement of statemanship," and that the theory of arbitra-

¹¹⁵ Dec. 18, 1895.

¹¹⁶ Jan. 10, 1896.

¹¹⁷ Jan. 9, 1896.

¹¹⁸ Nevins, *Cleveland*, 719.

tion afforded "no guarantee of practical justice." It believed that "war between the two countries is scarcely conceivable,"¹¹⁹ and inquired if this were Olney's bribe tendered "to induce Lord Salisbury to arbitrate England's controversy with Venezuela."¹²⁰ It was "consummately selfish" on the part of the President and his Secretary to attempt to get the measure of "superficial and sentimental" glory too hastily given, while "their successors would reap the shame of its failure."¹²¹ After the Senate had "finished the melancholy process of amending the Olney-Pauncefote Treaty," the *Sun* said: "As now left for the final vote on ratification or rejection the Olney-Pauncefote Treaty is practically nothing more than a declaration, in treaty form, that the United States will in the future arbitrate with Great Britain when it is disposed so to do."¹²²

Six weeks later it was defeated. The *Sun* justified the Senate's action on the ground that the compact was "full of dangers to American interests." Nor was there the slightest prospect, it thought, that the attempt to make a general arbitration treaty between England and America would be renewed, "for a time at least."¹²³ Democratic satisfaction that Dana supported Cleveland in the Venezuela dispute with "ungrudging praise"¹²⁴ was lessened by his hostility toward the spirit of conciliation which grew out of it.

Dana never relinquished his dream of annexing Canada and Cuba. The "decline" of Canada under British rule was discussed at intervals as long as he edited the *Sun*. The cause of Cuba received greater space. Failing to promote aggressive action against Spain, the *Sun* advocated the purchase of Cuba in 1888. In 1895, the outbreak of a new and final revolution on the island brought the subject into prominence.

All the reasons which had caused this country to be interested in the revolution of 1868 still operated. The *Sun* asked, "Why should these people . . . be taxed to the amount of millions of dollars every year for the enrichment of Spain? Why should their aspirations for liberty under a republic be crushed, generation after generation?"

These things are anomalous. They are immoral and cruel. Their existence ought not to be protracted. . . .

¹¹⁹ Jan. 13, 1897.

¹²⁰ Jan. 21, 1897.

¹²¹ Jan. 23, 1897.

¹²² Apr. 2, 1897.

¹²³ May 12, 1897.

¹²⁴ Mitchell, E. P., *Memoirs of an Editor*, 330.

At the opening of our century there were ominous manifestations there. In recent years there have been outbreaks again and again; and now, once more, we have news of an uprising and of encounters with the Spanish troops and of the hurried preparations of the Spanish authorities for a serious conflict.

That Cuba is bound to be free we have not a doubt. It cannot be held in perpetual bondage by Spain. . . .¹²⁵

In July, 1895, Cleveland issued a proclamation which admitted a state of rebellion on the island, but did not recognize the belligerent status of the insurgents. The coast was patrolled for filibusters and every attempt was made to maintain neutrality. The *Sun* urged that some official reply be given to the present Spanish program of "butchery and blood."¹²⁶ It continually informed its readers that the insurgents were on the point of victory.

In April, Congress adopted a concurrent resolution recognizing Cuban belligerency. "Yet ten to one," the *Sun* said, "the division of this vote doesn't adequately represent the feelings of Americans. They are for Cuba's deliverance from the tyranny of Spain by one thousand to one."¹²⁷ The *Sun* regretted that it was not a joint resolution. "Then our recognition of the Cubans as belligerents would have become a fact. For every additional day that such recognition is delayed there is a grievous addition to the crimes against humanity perpetrated by the Spaniards."¹²⁸

Cleveland's last annual message reviewed the case. He maintained that this Government was in no way anxious to interfere in the rights and interests of Spain, but if the conflict were not terminated the United States would be forced to take action.¹²⁹ This was editorialized in the *Sun* as "The President's Programme—Postponement and Escape"—which it called, "postponement till the McKinley kalends, so far as the Cleveland Administration is concerned."¹³⁰

Public sympathy with Cuba increased. Soon after the President's message, the Cameron resolution was reported from the Committee on Foreign Affairs.¹³¹ It declared that the independence of the Republic of Cuba "is hereby acknowledged by the United States of America."¹³²

¹²⁵ Feb. 28, 1895.

¹²⁶ Sept. 21, 1895.

¹²⁷ Apr. 7, 1896.

¹²⁸ Apr. 19, 1896.

¹²⁹ Jones, 312.

¹³⁰ Dec. 8, 1896.

¹³¹ Dec. 9, 1896.

¹³² Dec. 11, 1896.

Then came a *coup* by Olney. In an emphatic statement he informed a newspaper interviewer what such a resolution meant. The response accorded him in the press was almost unanimously against the resolution. The *Sun* explained Olney's action as intended to delay the passage of a joint resolution, which Cleveland would never sign. "Impeachment would be impractical," it added, "even if Congress were disposed to waste ammunition on dead ducks."¹³³

The Presidential campaign of 1896 tended to focus interest elsewhere and when McKinley assumed office there was hope of a peaceful settlement.¹³⁴ But Dana must have seen the trend. In May, the *Sun* anticipated that "The freeing of Cuba from the curse of her oppressive and exhausting transatlantic domination will form a chapter of the most shining order in the annals of American Presidents."¹³⁵

Dana died in October, 1897, but not without winning the Cubans deepest love and gratitude. Three days after his death the Council of the Cuban Revolutionary Party issued an appeal to all friends of Cuba to attend a memorial meeting at Chickering Hall, and caused the following statement to be published in the paper that was no longer Dana's *Sun*:

The death of Charles A. Dana is for the Cubans a national loss. We mourn him as we should mourn one of the gallant soldiers of our republic. Faithful and tireless in his advocacy of our sacred cause, since our first great revolution against Spain in 1868, time and age never abated his love for Cuba. His mighty pen was always at the service of our struggling people.¹³⁶

Cuba became free and her independence was established. In an interior town called Camaguey stands the Charles A. Dana Plaza, named in honor of the American editor who so ably championed the cause of Cuban freedom. Mitchell tells us that "Mr. Dana's wide range of interests covered during one time, or another of his career, many and various enthusiasms of partisanship, affection or hatred. His services to the Cuban liberties were real and unselfish."¹³⁷

¹³³ Dec. 23, 1896.

¹³⁴ Jones, 313.

¹³⁵ May 18, 1897.

¹³⁶ Nov. 21, 1897.

¹³⁷ Pamphlet, July, 1915, on the occasion of a "Farewell Dinner to the Old *Sun* Building."

CHAPTER XIV

SUN ECONOMICS

IN 1868 a quarrel between Cornelius Vanderbilt and Daniel Drew for possession of the Erie Railroad indicated a trend toward monopoly. Dana went so far as to suggest that if the Erie Railroad should become a Vanderbilt machine for levying tribute the State should run a parallel competing line as a "perpetual guaranty against railroad monopoly."¹ This was the nearest Dana's *Sun* ever came to advocating state ownership of public utilities. By 1869, when the last rail of the Union Pacific was laid, his paper had taken on new characteristics—which endeared it to journalists and lowered it in the estimation of conservative and high-minded people.

The *Sun* approved of the Government's liberal assistance to the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Companies. It pointed out that the land along the rails had doubled in value, being worth more than it otherwise would have been for fifty years.² But the accomplishment definitely marked the new era. The cry was for "vaster and vaster combinations" and Dana saw the necessity of measures to prevent selfish ownership of capital. In 1869 he argued that "if we make as many new roads as possible along the great line of eastward and westward travel, it will eventually render it impossible for them all to be combined under a single head."³ Was it possible the mighty *Sun* would prove unable to gear its economic philosophy to the high-powered machine age upon which the United States was entering?

Serious evils attended the rapid business expansion. Railroad barons needed capital for construction and neglected the completed roads and stockholders. The New York Central, with gross earnings of some 12 millions or 14 millions of dollars annually, could divide barely six per cent per annum upon a capital of 24 million; the Erie, earning about the same in gross, for the past two years had made no dividends upon its common stock and now required some \$8,000,000 fresh capital for re-

¹ Mar. 23, 1868.

² May 8, 1869.

³ Feb. 9, 1869.

pairs. Others were reported in a similar condition. The *Sun* asked "whether this process is ever to stop, and whether our roads will ever be able to close their construction accounts and defray the cost of renewals out of current earnings without absorbing the whole of them?"⁴ Outrageous examples of watered capital could be cited. "Managers assume that their only duty is to make all the money they possibly can for themselves and their shareholders, and that the public are sheep to be shorn for their advantage."⁵ State and National legislatures were being corrupted by rich corporations and combinations. The time would come when no man could be certain whether "the legislature runs the railroads or the railroads the legislature."⁶ The *Sun* predicted a "great fight between the people and the mighty railway corporations."⁷

When energy outran available capital, application for loans was made, to which England eagerly responded. Big banking houses in this country undertook the sale of bonds and assisted in the promotion of the roads. One of these was Jay Cooke & Co. which financed the Northern Pacific. It was a highly respected firm, holding the investments of widows, orphans, clergymen, farmers, and people of moderate means.⁸ But in January, 1873, the *Herald* reported that Jay Cooke & Co. was unable to pay its debts. The *Sun* replied that "there must be a mistake about it."⁹ But the *Herald* was not mistaken. Jay Cooke was struggling against terrific odds. Pools, syndicates, and popular subscriptions failed to secure additional capital. He sought aid from the Government, but the recent Credit Mobilier disclosures made this impossible. The capital and credit of the firm were encroached upon. On September 18, Jay Cooke & Co. failed. The First National Bank at Washington, headed by Henry D. Cooke, followed suit. This catastrophe was announced in a leading *Sun* editorial which said:

. . . It is long since we had such a financial storm as now rages. But when it clears off the air will be more wholesome. There will be less reckless speculation; fewer railroads will be built on credit alone; and let us hope that Credit Mobiliers, plundering Rings, official corruption, bribe giving and present taking will be things of the past only.¹⁰

⁴ Mar. 19, 1868.

⁵ Apr. 22, 1871.

⁶ Feb. 21, 1871.

⁷ Feb. 28, 1871.

⁸ Sept. 19, 1873; Oct. 18, 1873.

⁹ Jan. 15, 1873.

¹⁰ Sept. 19, 1873.

By the twentieth the storm was worse than had been at first supposed. Jay Cooke was represented as saying that his London house would stand, but it was feared that he was mistaken. "We ourselves experience a strong reluctance to reflect upon him with severity," said the *Sun*. But Dana yielded to the public clamor and condemned Jay Cooke and all his works:

Mr. Cooke was originally a clever advertiser. Mr. Chase, when he became Secretary of the Treasury, availed himself of Cooke's tact at advertising to float the early loans required by the Government. He soon thought proper to make terms with Cooke which afforded him an opportunity to make, in the aggregate, enormous profits. The arrangement, though like a thousand other objectionable things, tolerated during the war, would have been speedily investigated and broken up had it been first entered upon in time of peace. But even Mr. Chase, with all his statesmanship, relaxed his principles fearfully in the actual administration of the Treasury Department. The very foundation principles of finance—principles which, out of regard to his permanent reputation, he felt obliged when he became Chief Justice judicially to affirm,—he at one time lost sight of. . . .

The relations between Jay Cooke & Co. and the Treasury Department became of such a character as should never be permitted to exist between a banking house and a department of the Government, because they were incompatible with official integrity and purity. Persons holding valid claims against the Government found it far the easiest and quickest way to realize on them to make sale of them at any required discount and deduction to some one connected with Cooke's national bank, just over the way, opposite to the Treasury building. . . .

Mr. Cooke's business was a mushroom and a poisonous outgrowth of the war, and it is fitting that it should perish. His influence in politics and legislation was pernicious.¹¹

In spite of hopes and palliatives the financial crisis continued, soon penetrating every commercial artery of the country. From each state came news of the stoppage of mills, plants, mines and factories. Hundreds of thousands of able, industrious people, skilled in their vocations, were deprived of employment. Men and women were compelled to subsist upon their former savings or the charity of others. The *Sun* said it was in "the legislation of the Republican party and in its administration of the Government that we must look"¹² for the origin of the misfortunes.

Proposals were made for postal savings banks to protect the earnings

¹¹ Sept. 22, 1873.

¹² Oct. 30, 1873.

of the poor. Some believed it was the duty of the Government to help the weaker members of society in still more direct ways. The *Sun* vigorously opposed all such proposals, objecting to their paternalism and the implication that the people were unable to take care of themselves. But one of Dana's greatest and most legitimate fears was the corruption of the National Government. He saw no reason for entrusting further responsibilities to an administration which failed to perform with honesty those already under its jurisdiction.¹³

During this period Westerners were becoming more and more angry at the railroad owners who had brought settlers into their region, thereby increasing production and lowering prices. They were embittered, too, against the Government for having granted large tracts of fruitful land to corporations. On the Pacific Railroad alone the *Sun* reported that over fifty million of acres had been squandered.¹⁴ Farmers were oppressed by high freight rates, extorted, so they believed, to pay dividends on watered stock. Thus the Granges became politically active. One of their objects was to secure reasonable rates for farm products. In general they advocated State control, though some called for national regulation.

The *Sun* had two attitudes toward the Grangers, although Dana at heart disapproved of them. When he wished to present their movement as evidence of an uprising against the Grant Administration, the *Sun* called them "sober, solid citizens of every shade of political opinion, farmers, planters, and agricultural laborers."¹⁵ But when the *Sun* discussed the Grangers in connection with the railroads they were Communists, Anarchists, or "dangerous trash."

The Grangers obtained legislation for the control of railroads in several Western States. The laws were challenged by the corporations and carried to the Supreme Court, which, in five cases, upheld the rights of States to regulate commerce within their borders.¹⁶ The *Sun* thought the decisions pointed a bitter lesson: "The moment a business which, in the beginning, was private grows to any considerable proportions, those who established it lose their right to manage it as they please."¹⁷

¹³ Oct. 15, 1873.

¹⁴ Oct. 8, 1873.

¹⁵ Oct. 14, 1874.

¹⁶ 94 U.S., 113-181.

¹⁷ Mar. 4, 1877.

Nevertheless, Dana still hated monopoly. The *Sun* denounced it as the "grandest kind of larceny to take the property of the farmers and give it to railroad kings or to manufacturers."¹⁸ But the only constructive remedy it offered was the encouragement of competitive business. Occasionally it appealed to the human heart, but Dana really had little faith in man's essential goodness. A philosophical editorial in 1870 recognized and mourned the death of unselfish patriotism among rich citizens:

The idea that their country, or the community in which they live, has any claims upon them, seems to be scouted as chimerical. They regard it as their right to be protected; or at least let alone, while they pile dollar upon dollar; and they think that when they have paid—grudgingly and unwillingly, and with every effort to diminish the amount—the taxes levied upon them, they have done all that can be required of them. Their talents, their skill, and their time they regard as exempt from assessment, and they value money more than the thanks and approval of their fellow citizens.¹⁹

No interests were affected more severely than the railroads by the depression following 1873. Excessive competition caused rate wars, reduction of incomes, and loss of dividends.²⁰ In the early summer of 1877, several companies declared a wage cut. This provoked strikes involving ten states, with scenes of great violence in some. Six found it necessary to call upon Hayes for assistance. The pages of the *Sun* were devoted to strike news. At first it sympathized with the strikers, although it deprecated violence. In New York City, a protest meeting was held in Tompkins Square. Many people questioned the wisdom of allowing such a gathering for the strike had severely disturbed the public, but the *Sun* championed the right of free speech:

The authorities have done right in allowing the meeting at Tompkins Square tonight. The people have a right to assemble peaceably to discuss questions of interest. . . .²¹

Justus Schwab, the noted Communist, led this meeting. He stated his views for publication and among them was the principle "That the Government immediately take control, own and operate the rail-

¹⁸ Feb. 24, 1874.

¹⁹ Nov. 25, 1870.

²⁰ July 24, 1877.

²¹ July 25, 1877.

roads." Later the *Sun* accused the Ohio Republicans of adopting his Communistic principles at their State Convention:

Against this American method of liberty and free individual or associate action, the Communists raise the demand that the Government should be made omnipotent, a vast, all-regulating central agency, running all railroads, fixing wages, legislating about everything, interfering in all business, and directing every man what he shall do and how he shall do it. . . . Our American Socialists propose to go a good deal further than the French system and to make the control of the Government—this omnipotent, all owning, all managing despotism—apply to all the business relations of men. In fact, they want to supercede the laws of God and nature altogether, and put in their place a tyrannical political machine which would leave nothing either of the semblance or substance of liberty.²²

In an editorial upon the great strikes of 1877 the *Sun* pointed out that the Governors of both West Virginia and Maryland were under the influence of corporations. Further criticizing their action in asking for Federal assistance, it said that if at the outset they had called representatives of the strikers and of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and insisted that the rights of each should be fully determined, the trouble would have been nipped in the bud.²³ Although a temporary economic improvement began in 1878, and general prosperity returned, in some fields the depression continued throughout the eighties.

In March, 1883, Karl Marx died. Although the *Sun* was opposed to his philosophy in every practical regard, to the philosopher, Dana was generous and highly appreciative. He wrote an admirable editorial on the great leader:

On Thursday died, almost unnoticed, a man who is likely to be remembered quite as long as any of the generals, statesmen, and diplomatists whose recent disappearance from the stage of public life has been widely chronicled. The Socialist movement of our time is a phenomenon too vast and imposing to be inseparably associated with the name and achievement of any individual reformer. For its fundamental impulse and general direction we must look to the central laws and inherent imperfections of our social system. But if the title of prophet and protagonist belongs to any of its promoters, it would, by the consent of all intelligent observers, be awarded to Karl Marx. Others like Bakunin, diverted for a time the attention and confidence of part of the European proletariat, or like Lasalle, played for a brief season a more brilliant part; but in him, sooner or later, workingmen throughout the world recognized their authentic guide

²² Aug. 7, 1877.

²³ July 30, 1877.

and veritable commander. Karl Marx is dead, but the work to which he gave his life survived him in the respect commanded by the claims of labor, in the hope which he imparted, in the spirit of unity and organization which he substituted for aimless, discordant, and abortive struggle.

Karl Marx was by far the best-known, most influential and intellectually the ablest of those *Katheder-Socializten*, or highly educated reformers, who in Germany have scrutinized the assumptions and deductions of the orthodox political economists from a new point of view, and who defend their novel doctrines with a display of knowledge and ingenuity that captivate the student and compel the deference and admiration of their opponents. He was by no means a vain or self-assertive man, but he might with perfect truth have uttered the vaunt ascribed to Lasalle, that he came to the discussion of social problems armed with all the learning of his time . . . although he expended his energies for forty years on the practical object of organizing the proletariat, and in the endless correspondence and fugitive writing which such a task entailed, he was yet able to begin, and bring far toward completion, one work of comprehensive scope and abiding value—"Das Kapital"—in which the relations of capital and labor are discussed with extraordinary penetration and breadth of view, and in which due weight is given to considerations overlooked by most economists, but fraught with momentous import to the stability of existing communities and welfare of mankind. The appearance of this book unquestionably constituted an epoch in the history of the age-long struggle between wealth and work, between Jacob and Esau, the heirs of the stored-up gains of preceding generations and their disinherited brethren. It is in this book mentioned that he clearly indicates the limitations which in the interest of society itself should be imposed upon the working of the iron law of wages—the correlation of supply and demand, which, unrelaxed and uncontrolled, must always tend to lower a workman's earnings to a bare subsistence, and thus chain the great majority of the human race in grinding and hopeless slavery. In the same treatise is examined the principle of individual ownership which lies at the root of our social system, and to which not only its refinement, its luxury, and splendor, but much of its want and misery and crime, may be directly traced. . . .

It is true that the International Society which he founded and for some time personally directed has been virtually broken up, but the habit of co-operative effort which he instilled has transformed the laboring masses throughout Europe into a coherent, resolute, and mighty social force. They to whom his life was devoted are not likely to forget the watchword in which he summed up the lessons of experience and pointed out the harsh remedy. "Proletarians," he said, "have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Let therefore the proletarians of all countries combine with one another!" ²⁴

This sympathetic analysis of Marx's philosophy measures the heights to which the *Sun* might have climbed had not its commercial success depended upon reflecting the thoughts of the masses who read it. Writ-

²⁴ Mar. 16, 1883.

ten no doubt to please a few whose thinking was more advanced than that of most *Sun* readers, it stands in marked contrast to the hundreds of other editorials upholding the most extreme doctrines of *laissez-faire*, individual ownership, and private profits.

Dana's belief in the doctrines of *laissez-faire* and individualism was emphatically stated in his comment on a pamphlet called the "Next Step of Progress." The author, John H. Keyser, maintained that the Government was the parent of all its lawful subjects and responsible for their education, employment, food, clothes, and shelter. The *Sun* replied:

The Government is not the parent of the people; the people are the authors of the Government. The purpose for which government is instituted is to secure to all men the inalienable rights with which they are endowed by their creator, namely, "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The Government has nothing to do with giving employment to individual citizens or withholding from them food, clothes, or shelter. That is no part of its functions. Its business is to maintain order through the enforcement of law, and to avoid all other interference with the liberty and occupations of men. Mr. Keyser's notion of a paternal despotic government is utterly unreasonable and entirely opposed to the theory and policy of this republic.²⁵

The spread of socialistic doctrines added to labor unrest. Wages were low in 1883 and workers were beginning to realize the advantage of a united protest. A series of strikes was begun against the Western Union Telegraph Company, in which Jay Gould was a controlling stockholder. The operators formed a trade organization. The *Sun* said that according to the strikers' statement, the immediate reason for the strike was that the companies would not recognize the representatives whom the union sent to negotiate with employers. It then defended capital:

But why would they not recognize them? Because they were not known to be representatives. There was no evidence that they had been empowered by the Telegraphers' Brotherhood to represent them, and to supervise their relations toward the telegraph companies. The fact had hitherto been held in mystery, and the appearance of the representatives formed the first public declaration that they bore such a character.

If the Telegraphers' Brotherhood, instead of conducting their affairs in secrecy, had been public and open in their actions, they might not at once have

²⁵ Feb. 12, 1885.

succeeded in obtaining what they demanded from the telegraph companies, but they certainly would not have been turned away with a refusal to admit the fact that their representatives were really authorized.²⁶

The *Sun* recognized the right of employees to quit work on the ground that compensation was insufficient; it did not accord them the privilege of preventing other men from filling the vacated positions. It said, "The striking telegraphers are clearly in the wrong when they seek to interfere with the operators employed on the railroads, in the discharge of their customary duties, in order by such interference to promote the success of the existing strike."²⁷

In all these problems the *Sun* aligned itself with business interests. This was increasingly noticeable in the late eighties and nineties. Many laboring people read the *Sun*, but those engaged in the labor struggle grew contemptuous. The *Providence Journal* said:

The *Sun* will probably consider that it has been treated with ingratitude by the Central Labor Union, which has resolved to boycott it, considering the fervent manner in which it has occasionally championed the rights of the workingmen, albeit it may have avoided any interference between its philanthropy and its interest in this respect as shrewdly as Gov. Butler . . . in this case the resolution of the Central Labor Union will not amount to a flea bite to the *Sun*, but only make its organization ridiculous, while its members will probably buy as many copies of the condemned newspaper as they have before been in the habit of doing.²⁸

The last clause sounds as if the *Sun* had put the words into the mouth of its defender. But it is significant as revealing the extent to which a neighboring journal and a labor union valued the *Sun's* championship of workingmen.

In the twenty-five years after 1860 the United States took its first really long steps from an agrarian democracy to an industrial autocracy. But the *Sun* remained constant to its *laissez-faire* philosophy—that the way to fight monopolies was to increase the number of competitive forces. In 1883, it greeted with enthusiasm a plan for the duplication of telegraph lines, to be built by the telegraph strikers and various commercial bodies:

²⁶ July 26, 1883.

²⁷ July 31, 1883.

²⁸ Aug. 30, 1883.

Then the public will be well served, because each company will endeavor to outdo its competitors in the accuracy with which it transmits messages as well as in the reasonable rate of its charges.

Judging by the present indications, the strikers will not be able to bring the Western Union or the Baltimore and Ohio to their terms; but they may render a great service to the public by establishing their own lines and conducting them on genuine cooperative principles. Once more we wish them entire success in this enterprise.²⁹

The fact that scientific knowledge made it possible to supply materials more cheaply and efficiently through monopoly did not seem to impress Dana. Nor did he consider that possibly the telegraph workers were suffering from too much competition rather than too large monopolies. But his advocacy of a co-operatively built, owned, and controlled telegraph system as a foil to monopolies was far-sighted in view of the later rapid growth of the co-operative movement in this country and abroad. Whether Dana would have had the telegraph workers apply the Rochdale principles of co-operation is not known. Undoubtedly he was far more influenced by his experience with Brook-Farm co-operation than by the movement in England. The objective of the one was social democracy applied to industry as well as government as a means of liberalizing and humanizing capitalism; the result of the other is the gradual socialization of capitalism.

To Dana co-operative enterprise voluntarily carried on by private individuals was vastly different from Government ownership or control of public utilities. His hostility to the latter was clearly revealed in his attitude toward the set of resolutions adopted by the Executive Committee of the Board of Trade and Transportation. Among the "absurdities" propounded was the "propriety and necessity of the Postal Department at once constructing a system of telegraph lines upon the plan proposed by the bill introduced in Congress . . . or by the purchasing of existing lines at a cost not to exceed the expense of duplicating them." "It is wonderful," said the *Sun*, "how Communistic views will get hold of ignorant men."³⁰

The year 1886 brought news of strikes, lockouts, and boycotts from every section of the country. In February attention was devoted to disturbances among drivers, conductors, and stablemen of street-car

²⁹ July 29, 1883.

³⁰ July 25, 1883.

railroads.⁸¹ Letter carriers went to Washington to plead with the Department of Justice to be included among eight-hour-day workers.⁸² Bookkeepers and office clerks formed unions.⁸³ The same year witnessed the greatest strength and popularity of the Knights of Labor. Organized as a secret society in 1869, it boasted, seventeen years later, a membership of more than 700,000 industrial workers. Terence V. Powderly, its Grand Master, was a power in the labor world.

In 1885 Powderly had succeeded in securing Jay Gould's personal promise not to discharge workers for striking. And in March, 1886, ten thousand men led by the Knights, struck on the railroad lines of the Gould Southwestern system. About five thousand more were necessarily laid off. The *Sun* reported strikes in the bituminous mines of Pennsylvania, while the streetcar employees in Pittsburg "expect to get what they ask for without striking." It noted that the "thousands of strikers in all parts of the country are conducting themselves with dignity and moderation and the almost entire absence of disorder is a noteworthy feature of the great labor movement."⁸⁴ This kind of approval was characteristic. As long as strikes were quietly conducted and did not violate the Constitution, damage property, or interfere with other citizens, the *Sun* took the side of the workers. This was usually only so long as public opinion supported them. It was a policy that contributed to the success of Dana's paper.

The *Sun* held neither the Government nor Society responsible for conditions which bred strikes. These were the personal problems of capital and labor. Therefore the public should not be made to suffer in their solution, nor the peace and safety of the country be endangered. It was opposed to independent political activity on the part of organized labor, chiefly because of its devotion to the two party system. Workers could redress their grievances by voting for honest Democrats. Up to 1886 the Knights of Labor had been a model organization from the *Sun's* point of view. It had opposed violence, refused to form a political party, and as a rule resorted to arbitration. But the influx of unskilled laborers, coupled with prevailing economic stress, introduced a new spirit into their activities; and the *Sun* sounded a note of warning:

⁸¹ Feb. 5, 1886.

⁸² Feb. 7, 1886.

⁸³ Feb. 20, 1886.

⁸⁴ Mar. 11, 1886.

The victories won by the Knights of Labor, and the new contests in which the powerful organization is almost every day engaging, make its future course a matter for much interesting speculation. . . . Will its leaders go forward with increasing caution and moderation as the growing strength of the order makes its action more momentous? ³⁵

The great railroad strikes of 1886 took place in the states of Missouri, Texas, Arkansas and Illinois, but the blockade of freight affected the entire nation. On March 12th, the *Sun* reported that the engineers had agreed to haul freight trains, but when the attempt was made, they concluded to side with the striking Knights. The following day two attempts to send freight trains from the Southwest to St. Louis were defeated. It proved impossible to employ new workingmen. Peace proposals were rejected by the employers. Repeated failures to start trains, general suffering, and the apparent endlessness of the strike began to turn public sympathy against the employees. This was first shown in the *Sun* of March 24th:

. . . there is danger that success may turn the heads of the Knights of Labor and of the organizations they influence. While we uphold and stand by their fundamental purpose, we deprecate the excesses into which they may be led, and we warn them against the injustice into which they may be betrayed. It cannot be allowed in this country that a man who employs labor shall not himself select it and control it, free from dictation as to the individual persons whom he shall employ. Such a rule would be intolerable in its operation and effect, and, while it might benefit a few, it would afford to the many a license and occasion of abuse that would be fatal to all business discipline. Nor can it be allowed that an industrial organization of a protective character shall usurp the great powers of government, and levy war on all business under the pretext of attending to its own.

The next day an editorial openly condemned the Knights of Labor.

When the strike terminated in a compromise the *Sun* posed the question: who had settled it? Had it been Gould, H. M. Hoxie, who managed the road, or Powderly and Martin Irons of the Knights of Labor? It answered as follows:

Each and all of them helped. Perhaps one or two of them did more than the others. But the great power in bringing the strike to an end was the overpowering and universal sentiment that it ought to end. As soon as trains shall have begun to run regularly again, there will be just as universal a sentiment that

³⁵ Mar. 12, 1886.

the employees of the railroad no longer strikers, must have fair treatment.

It is better to be an employee with public sentiment in your favor than to be on strike.³⁶

Labor unrest continued during April. Rumors were current that anarchistic ideas, instilled by foreigners, were rife among the workers; that strikes were being fomented not to better conditions but to overthrow the Government. Various theories were advanced as to the cause and cure of the distress. The *Sun* asserted that there was "no reason to presume that the present economic difficulties are cause for alarm for our social institutions."³⁷ Two days later it announced that forty-thousand workmen were on strike in Chicago for an eight-hour work day. On the same page appeared the following editorial:

The proposition of the laboring men to limit the working day to eight hours forms one of the grandest exhibitions of human generosity and self-denial that has ever been recorded. It is a deliberate offer of those who are employed to cut off one-fifth of their own capital, their labor, in order that the mass of the unemployed—greater now than ever and threatened with enormous increase—may be furnished with the opportunity to earn a living. We remember nothing like this in history.

On the other hand, the idea which is entertained in some places that all at once the wage-paying industries of the country can give the present day's pay for eight hours of labor, is the supremest folly that can be conceived of. That would be equivalent to a generous advance in wages of twenty-five per cent for those who are already working, and, to the amount now paid as wages, there would have to be added the sum needed to pay twenty-five per cent more laborers.

Such a sudden and immense burden could not be placed on our industries without so crushing them to the ground that but a small portion of them could ever rise again. Probably no other agency could be devised which would be more disastrous to the interests of the community in which the workingmen form nine-tenths of the population.

At the McCormick Reaper Works a collision occurred between policemen and workers. In protest, resentful people gathered in Haymarket Square where speakers denounced capitalism. The audience was dispersing in orderly fashion when a squad of policemen came down upon them. Some unknown person threw a bomb, killing seven officers. Three men were immediately arrested and held on charges of murder. More

³⁶ Apr. 1, 1886.

³⁷ Apr. 30, 1886.

arrests followed for the same offense. The *Sun* pleaded for "short, sharp and decisive" action:

The miscreants who come here with bombs and dynamite, and with the avowed purpose of killing those who do not please them should be dealt with in the sternest and most relentless manner.

In such a contest as that which has been provoked at Chicago, where the crazy fools who are advocating the slaughter alike of peaceful citizens and officers of the law, have attempted to execute their ferocious purpose, there is but one thing to be done: They must be put down with the strong hand instantly, and afterward those who remain alive must be tried and must have justice, but not mercy!

So much for the "crazy Socialists." As for the effects of the riot on the labor movement, the *Sun* predicted that it would "strengthen among the organized workmen the opposition to all violent measures for the attaining of their ends."

They will be calmer, if not less determined, more distrustful than ever of the advice of hot-headed agitators, and more inclined to listen to the counsel of leaders who appeal to their reason.

If employers also keep their heads cool, the contest between labor and capital will proceed without uproar, and will end in a settlement advantageous to both.³⁸

When news arrived that the "anarchists" were to be executed for their crimes the *Sun* exultantly declared: "Let Them Hang":

The best intelligence that has been printed in many a day, wholesome and cheering to all who respect law and order and love their country, is that which comes from Chicago. Seven murderous and frantic scoundrels, men envenomed against all law, all reason, all decency, and the peace and welfare of a civilized people, are to be extirpated on the gallows for the murders of which they are guilty. The law they defied will be justified in their execution, and a prompt, stern, and necessary warning will be afforded to a class of exotic criminals for whom there is no room in this land.³⁹

The case was appealed in the Supreme Court of Illinois, which confirmed the judgment and ordered the executions to take place on November 11, 1887. The *Sun* defended the decision and congratulated Governor Oglesby for refusing to stay the sentence. Six years later

³⁸ May 6, 1886.

³⁹ Aug, 21, 1886.

when Governor Altgeld, to the horror and indignation of "The respectable citizens of Illinois," courageously pardoned two of the men sentenced to life imprisonment, he was denounced in the *Sun* as the "friend of the Anarchists."⁴⁰

The *Sun* analyzed the cause of such strike disturbances: Wages were better in 1886 than they had ever been before, but laborers felt the "screw of contraction" turning. They knew the time was approaching when the struggle of the many against the few would reduce wages lower and lower. Instead of intelligent relief they were "left to the blind working of natural forces"—a strange contention for the *Sun*, considering its championship of *laissez faire*. The best solution Dana could suggest was that men await the appearance of some new resource, such as the discovery of gold, to regenerate business.⁴¹

By 1886, many workers had determined to enter the political arena and wrest the rights denied them by capital. Simultaneously Congress began to discuss a permanent board of labor arbitration. Both remedies were opposed in the *Sun*. A labor party might be radical in nature, opposed to *laissez faire*. It was also convinced the workers would be diverted from their original objectives and become the pawn of political ambition.⁴² In April, Cleveland advised setting up a board for voluntary arbitration in labor disputes.⁴³ To the *Sun* this was an encroachment of national upon State rights, and a scheme to extend the functions of the Government.⁴⁴ An arbitration bill was drawn up, providing for the settlement of each dispute by a board made up of employers and employees selected for that purpose. The *Sun* considered it unfair to the railroad owners, because while it did not require any witness "to disclose the secrets or produce the records of proceedings of any labor organization" of which he was an officer or member, it allowed the arbitrators to compel the "production of books and papers of railroad companies."⁴⁵

The long controversy over Federal regulation of interstate commerce led to the introduction of a bill in 1886. "It is noticeable," the *Sun* remarked, "that some Senators and Representatives are anxious

⁴⁰ Oct. 12, 1893.

⁴¹ Apr. 26, 1886.

⁴² Mar. 10, 1886.

⁴³ Nevins, *Cleveland*, 349.

⁴⁴ Apr. 26, 1886.

⁴⁵ Apr. 5, 1886.

to have the bill passed, not because they have any faith in it, but because they think the public wants some measure of railroad regulation enacted." It went on:

The present bill should it become a law, seems likely to result in one or two things—either it will not be enforced, or if it is severely enforced, it will work disaster to the railroads and to the public.

It is unfortunate that the beginning of Federal interference with railroads should be made too emphatic. A mere advisory commission composed of experts would have been preferable.

The main reason why the Government should not without due deliberation enter upon the regulation of railroads is that such a step will be accepted by many, and perhaps not unreasonably, as the first step toward Federal control and ownership of the railroads. We hope that it is a long way yet to such abandonment of democratic principle.⁴⁶

All pretense of supporting the Interstate Commerce bill was dropped the following January. The *Sun* declared itself in favor of the regulation of interstate commerce, but not in favor of the bill proposed.

Disregarding the question of its constitutionality, the *Sun* criticized the bill for its defective language. The first section exempted from the operation of the act every railroad corporation whose road lay wholly in one State, except in instances when the property transported was shipped to or from a foreign country:

While there is great ambiguity about other parts of the bill there is none about this proviso.—Must we not infer—indeed, is not the inference unavoidable—that the reading is accidental, and that “for, to or from a foreign country, from or to any State, etc!” we should read “to or from a foreign country or from or to any State, etc.!!?”

The second section prohibited discriminatory rates by common carriers: “whether that carrier make the rate for the service performed wholly on its own road, or accept the rate as its proportion of a through rate made by a combination of carriers, for transportation over a series of roads of which said carrier’s road is one”:

How are the railroads to comply with such a law, assuming that it will become law? In such a condition of uncertainty as that in which these provisions are plunged what are they to do? Are they to work under it as a law and obey it

⁴⁶ Dec. 19, 1886

according to the best light that they can obtain, only to find after a year or so that they have read it wrongly and incurred enormous and fatal liabilities and penalties? ⁴⁷

Agitation against Government regulation of the railroads had not ended before agitation against anti-trust laws was taken up in the *Sun*. The *Herald* had described a trust as "a combination of capitalists to control the market" and establish monopoly by crushing out opposition and preventing competition. One might have expected the *Sun* to have confirmed this statement, but instead it asked:

Admitting that a trust is a bad thing because it prevents competition in business, is not a trade union or any other society of laboring men, formed to regulate wages and prevent competition, likewise a bad thing? And if combinations of capitalists ought to be condemned and restricted by law, ought not the combinations of laboring men to be subjected to a similar repressive process? ⁴⁸

Anti-trust resolutions were introduced into the House in January, 1888. Eventually two investigation committees were appointed, one by the New York Legislature and one by Congress, to investigate "great industrial and commercial combinations." ⁴⁹ The Senate Law committee reported a valuable document, giving in detail its investigation of trusts, which was published in Albany. But the *Sun* expected little good from this report. Admitting that it regarded competition as a natural corrective of social errors and imperfections, it did not have "unquestioning faith" in the universal efficacy of legislation:

Now while, as we have said, we cherish a profound faith in the principle of competition on which our present society is based, we will not now affirm that it is the only practicable principle, and that the attempt of the workingmen to set it aside and to control the labor market against it through the power of their organization is a noxious and anti-social undertaking which ought to be put down and defeated . . . if such combinations of capitalists are wrong and if free and unrestricted competition must be maintained among the rich through the operation of a penal statute, how can Mr. Arnold and his associates allow combinations to destroy competition or to be justified, encouraged and protected by the law when they are formed by people who labor with their hands? ⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Jan. 30, 1887.

⁴⁸ Apr. 26, 1888.

⁴⁹ Feb. 22, 1888.

⁵⁰ Mar. 17, 1888.

In 1889 and 1890 the rise of new farmer organizations went on apace. In Oregon a great movement combined Labor Unions, Knights, Prohibitionists, and Grangers.⁵¹ In Michigan 75,000 joined the Patrons of Husbandry.⁵² Two great Alliances, the Southern and Northwestern, were formed. Simultaneously, labor unions declared war upon concentrated capital and the products of monopoly: long hours, inadequate wages, unemployment and economic insecurity. Among these were the American Federation of Labor, the Brotherhood of Railroad Firemen, National Mutual Aid Association of Railroad Switchmen, and the Knights where they had not been absorbed by other unions or combined with agrarian groups. The newest and most striking phenomena of modern society, commented the *Sun*, were the organization of workers and the organization of trusts.

In August, 1888, an anti-trust bill was introduced in the Senate by Reagan. The *Sun* called it the greatest "humbug" of the hour, declaring trusts were "natural and regular" and immune to law:

Against this new and enlarged form of commercial partnerships ordinary legislation is pretty sure to be powerless, because in itself the thing is consistent with the principles of civilization.

Just as laboring people have the right to form unions to keep up and regulate their wages, so merchants and manufacturers have the right to form trusts to keep up and regulate the prices of merchandise.

Liberty is the true law for all. If a trust makes very much money other trusts will rise up to compete with it. A big capital may be requisite, but the experience of this country demonstrates that where there is free competition, the thing will be done.⁵³

Just as the cure for the evils of monopoly was more monopolies, so now the cure for trusts was more trusts. The *Sun* claimed that the grocers' trust would regulate and combat the sugar trust and thus free competition would be preserved.⁵⁴ Announcing the formation of a Beef Trust in Lancaster County, Nebraska, it cheered on the "good work" and said "May the Better Trust Win!" The absurdity of the *Sun's* economic solutions seemed sometimes to amuse Dana.

The presidential campaign of 1888 made an issue of the subject. Both the Republican and Democratic platforms opposed trusts and

⁵¹ Aug. 23, 1889.

⁵² Dec. 31, 1889.

⁵³ Aug. 26, 1888.

⁵⁴ Sept. 26, 1888.

both candidates condemned them in their letters accepting the nominations. According to the *Sun*, they failed entirely "to comprehend that great partnerships formed a new and natural departure in the development of modern civilization, and that the business of a philosopher and a statesman should be first to examine and understand, leaving the denunciation and repression, if it should finally be found necessary, to be considered afterward." It added:

Of the two, however, while equally ignorant with Gen. Harrison, Cleveland is more dogmatic and positive, and, finally, he makes a great blunder from which Harrison is saved. He refers to the law against conspiracies without reflecting that, with the progress of society, this law has of necessity undergone changes of the most profound and far-reaching character, especially in regard to the enormous combinations of workmen which distinguish the present day and the unprecedented Labor Trusts which they have so widely established.⁵⁵

December, 1889, witnessed two important events. Senator Sherman introduced an anti-trust bill which was sent to the Senate Committee on Finance, and St. Louis was the scene of the annual convention of the Southern Alliance. At the same time there met in that city delegates from the Northwestern Alliance, the National Colored Farmers Alliance, the Farmers Mutual Benefit Association and the Knights of Labor. Concurrent resolutions asked for free coinage of silver; abolition of national banks; government ownership of railroad and telegraph; ownership of land by Americans only; prohibition of trading in grain futures; and limitation of state and national revenues to legitimate expenses. A resolution of the Southern Alliance advocated the sub-treasury plan, by which, the Government, in effect would subsidize agriculture.⁵⁶

During the early months of 1890, Congress debated anti-trust legislation. The *Sun* said there were a dozen and a half bills before Congress and "plenty more in the brains of statesmen seeking popularity":

As most of these bills provide that persons who enter into a trust or combination for increasing the price or controlling the production of any article shall be guilty of a misdemeanor it seems natural to suppose that the authors of the measure in question regard trusts as evil things and persons who participate in them as wrongdoers. It seems, however, that certain trusts and combinations are excepted from the prohibition. . . .

⁵⁵ Nov. 13, 1888.

⁵⁶ Hacker, Louis M. and Kendrick, Benjamin B., *The United States Since 1865*, 299-300.

Thus Senator George's bill excepts combinations made by laborers to increase their wages or diminish their hours of labor, or by farmers to increase the price of agricultural products. . . .⁵⁷

Meanwhile, the farmers were turning to political action for redress of their grievances. In August, the *Sun* announced the Alliances were moving "squarely against the otherwise excellent chances for a Democratic majority in the next Congress."⁵⁸ In November it reported that the "frenzy" was over, but elections told a different story. Alliance candidates had been elected to the National Congress and several State legislatures. Their program, which they at once began to feed into legislative hoppers included crop control and aid to mortgage debtors. These were denounced by the *Sun* as dishonest.⁵⁹ In one short paragraph it described the Alliance program as "paternalistic," "madness," "indefensible," "rank nationalism," "selfish," "repugnant" and "silly."⁶⁰

Soon after the elections of 1890, a second Alliance convention was scheduled at Ocala, Florida. Its program was anticipated with interest, since it was believed it would affect the legislation of the Fifty-Second Congress.⁶¹ The platform proved similar to that adopted the previous year at St. Louis, with three important exceptions. The sub-treasury plan was extended, saddling the Government with further responsibilities; tariff revision was demanded; and the word control was substituted for ownership of railroads and telegraphs. After this Dana became increasingly antagonistic toward farmer and labor organizations.

The formal launching of the People's party took place in the campaign of 1892. Its chief planks were financial reform, an income tax, Government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, and the elimination of corporate and foreign ownership of land. According to the *Sun*, the Populists were "excited and encouraged by their demonstrations of numerical strength at the election." Their phenomenal success evoked the admiration of even the antagonistic, and it was clear that the Democratic party was feeling their influence.⁶² The off-year elec-

⁵⁷ Feb. 23, 1890.

⁵⁸ Aug. 10, 1890.

⁵⁹ Feb. 10, 1891.

⁶⁰ July 30, 1891

⁶¹ Dec. 2, 1890

⁶² Dec. 11, 1892.

tion showed a gain of forty-two per cent over the populist vote of 1892. The *Sun* blamed the results upon Cleveland:

To get at the primary cause of this country's revolutionary return to the dominion of the Republicans, we must first look at the part played in the election by the Populists. Populism is a mixture of Socialism and insanity. It is either hostile and repugnant to the spirit of this Democratic land, or it is foreign to it. We have not reached the intellectual or political degradation at which Populism can prosper. How great a factor it has been in producing the recent election, will be seen from a study of national politics as it is revealed after less than two years' control by an Administration, which has dealt to public confidence the blow of repudiating the Democratic principles it stood for when elected, and of setting up un-American and inflammatory Populistic standards in their stead.⁶³

While the Populists prepared for a final victory in the coming presidential campaign, three important Supreme Court cases were decided. The *Sun* did not comment on the Sugar Trust Case (*U.S. v. E. C. Knight Company*), the decision which hamstrung the prosecution of monopoly. But two years later, when the United States *v.* the Trans-Missouri Freight Association was decided in such a way as to uphold the Anti-Trust Act, it published the following editorial:

What the *Sun* has always maintained, that there is no essential difference between a trust and any other form of partnership, is pronounced to be the fact by the Supreme Court of the United States. The blow at trusts strikes everything.

Every partnership, from the lowest to the highest, is put beneath the ban of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Poor Honest John! That his name should typify the pinnacle of demagoguery in the law of the United States! . . . If two boss blacksmiths are independently on the verge of starvation, and they agree to combine their shops, one becoming the abler man's journeyman, the law will forbid the agreement as in restraint of trade.

Between the union of the blacksmiths and the consolidation of various manufacturing companies into one great corporation like the Sugar Company, there is no difference. It is needless to illustrate with other examples.

. . . The Sherman Anti-Trust Law was put among our statutes solely for political purposes, with a tricky expectation that it would amount to nothing, or with reckless disregard of its power for damage. Demagogues made these laws, and when it pleases the Supreme Court to construe them as it has in the Trans-Missouri case, the mischief is apparent.⁶⁴

⁶³ Nov. 8, 1894.

⁶⁴ Mar. 31, 1897.

In May, 1895, the income tax was declared unconstitutional. Although the Supreme Court had held the Civil War income tax constitutional, the 1894 law was tested in the *Pollock v. Farmer's Trust Company Case*. Since the *Sun* considered the income tax a "populist and Communist and pseudo-Democratic conspiracy to strike at the accumulation of property," there was little doubt how it would handle this decision. "Thank Heaven, the Danger is Past!" it exulted. "The wave of socialistic revolution has gone far, but it breaks at the foot of the ultimate bulwark set up for the protection of our liberties. Five to four, the court stands like a rock."⁶⁵ In another editorial of this same date, the *Sun* reminded its readers with "just pride" that "never for an instant" had it swerved in its warfare upon this "odious and unconstitutional impost." Its opposition to the income tax was one of the few constant factors in the *Sun*. Dana was proud that "the ablest, most upright, and most independent journals of the country" had shared in the effort to remove the "deadly incubus." It is true that the *Tribune* considered the case important in maintaining the Constitution against the fury of "ignorant class hatred" and withstanding the threatening communistic revolution.⁶⁶ But neither the *Evening Post*⁶⁷ nor the *World* shared this opinion. The latter set forth an eloquent plea for justice without advocating any sensational ways of obtaining it.⁶⁸

Journals in New York City generally agreed that the Supreme Court was justified in finding Eugene V. Debs guilty of contempt for violating an injunction sued out under the Sherman-Anti-Trust Law. The *Tribune* was delighted with the decision.⁶⁹ The *World* approved of it, but thought there were forces of evil more ominous to liberty than the unfortunate Debs.⁷⁰ In the *Sun's* opinion the routing of "Anarchists" was a supreme achievement:

The impression of Mr. Eugene Debs that he was a bigger man than Uncle Sam has received a severe shock from the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States delivered on Monday.

That decision, reached unanimously by the Justices goes far beyond the

⁶⁵ May 21, 1895.

⁶⁶ The *Tribune*, May 21, 1895.

⁶⁷ The *Evening Post*, May 20, 1895.

⁶⁸ The *World*, May 21, 1895.

⁶⁹ The *Tribune*, May 29, 1895.

⁷⁰ The *World*, May 29, 1895.

matter of the personal interests of Debs and his seven fellow officers of the American Railway Union. They will now have to go to jail and serve out the sentences imposed. . . .

What chiefly concerns the people in this case is the declaration of the highest tribunal that the rights and interests of the whole country shall not be at the mercy of Anarchists, through any theory of a lack of power in the Federal Government for its own preservation.

The decisions rendered by the highest court of the country against the odious income tax and against Debs and his fellow plotters will make the month of May, 1895, memorable for the judicial safeguards it has furnished to American institutions and the rights of the people.⁷¹

This was a far cry from Dana's warm defense of Proudhon's theories and the activities of the French and German revolutionists of 1848. Had Dana lost the radical liberalism of his younger days? Or had it merely receded to the point of ultra-conservatism in the wake of the stupendous changes which revolutionized the United States in his later years?

The America in which Dana had lived at Brook Farm and had gained his journalistic experience, and which he had served with such distinction during the Civil War was a miniature, bucolic Arcadia compared to the vast industrial nation which so swiftly emerged in the three decades after he took over the *Sun*.

For all the radicalism of his youth Dana had never actually questioned the sanctity of private property, the intrinsic value of the profit motive, the efficacy of free competition or the soundness of the *laissez-faire* doctrine of no Government interference in business. On the other hand he was opposed to Free Trade; and he never altogether lost his faith in the principles of co-operation voluntarily entered into by people of similar views and occupations. In time he accepted the phenomenon of large scale industry as the inevitable result of scientific development. Consequently the *Sun* refused to join in the hue and cry against trusts. Correct their evils by organizing more trusts; and may the better trust win was Dana's motto.

Thus, while Dana's social sensitivity, keen sense of justice, fine sensibilities and rare intellectual gifts made him quick to detect and to resent abuses of the capitalistic system, his life-long adherence to rugged individualism caused him both to glorify the material wealth

⁷¹ May 29, 1895.

and progress which it created and to leave untouched the roots of the economic problems and personal suffering resulting from it. It may be said that for thirty years the *Sun* championed the very forces which embittered Dana's heart and limited his outlook.

CHAPTER XV

THE *SUN* SHINES FOR ALL

FOR years the *Sun* printed its circulation at the top of its editorial page, and often chatted of the causes which reduced or increased its edition. When in 1885, the *Journalist* remarked that "every paper that publishes figures at the head of its column lies," Dana proposed to "put up a thousand dollars on condition that the writer in the *Journalist* should do the same." He was eager to have a committee composed of such journalists as Sinclair Tousey, President of the American News Company, David M. Stone, editor of the *Journal of Commerce*, and Whitelaw Reid of the *Tribune* investigate the question:

They shall have full access to the *Sun* office and the *Sun's* books, and the writer of the *Journalist* shall have the right to be present. They shall look into our affairs during the last five years, and if they find that the figures of our circulation, which we have published, have at any time been false, our thousand dollars shall be paid over to the Press Charity Fund. . . .¹

The *Sun* did tell the truth about its circulation.² It never hesitated to let it be known when vast numbers of people, indignant at its policy, pre-emptorily canceled their subscriptions. Nor did it hesitate to announce the fact whenever rapid gains were made or extra copies sold.

The extent of Dana's influence can not be measured until it is known how many people read the *Sun*. When Dana took over the paper in January, 1868, some 50,000 copies were being sold daily. A month later, with one Hoe and two Bullock presses, the *Sun* could deliver more than 200,000 copies in one morning. However, "enormous" as it boasted that its daily edition was, it had not yet become necessary to use them all at once. "We are looking forward, however, to the time when even this amount of machinery will be insufficient to supply the demand for the *Sun*, which shines for all."³

¹ Apr. 26, 1885.

² Wilson, J. H., *Life of Charles A. Dana*, 378; O'Brien, F. M., *The Story of the Sun*, 228, 269, 300.

³ Feb. 29, 1868.

Its circulation was climbing. Under Dana's skilful hand the first two months of 1869 showed an increase of 8,000 copies, and the *Sun* remarked:

The public will do well to notice the fact that the *Sun* is already officially proved to have in the city of New York a larger circulation than any other journal. This is demonstrated by the publication twice a week in our columns of the list of letters not called for at the Post Office. That list is required by law to be inserted in the newspaper having the largest circulation in the city, and in compliance with that provision it regularly appears in the *Sun*.⁴

The *Evening Telegram* published a wood engraving which depicted Dana racing with the editors of the *Tribune* and *Times* on velocipedes. Dana was in the lead, Greeley was close behind, and George Jones was nearly capsizing.⁵ In the spring of 1869, the *Sun* asserted that it "can claim to have the largest circulation of any of the morning papers, for today it amounts to sixty-three thousand."⁶

A tabulation shows clearly the rate of increase during this period:

September 12, 1869	64,000
October 5, 1869	70,000
October 12, 1869	72,900
October 14, 1869	73,900
December 15, 1869	79,900
December 21, 1869	80,000

Different factors contributed. The new and competent staff, under Dana's guidance, was introducing New York City to a "luminous and lively" newspaper. Then too, far be it from Dana to blue pencil the acts of the Almighty: What God allowed to happen, the *Sun* thought fit to print. He was creating an "interesting" paper! On July 27, 1870, the following notice appeared:

. . . we have more than trebled our circulation till it is now equal to that of all the four-cent foggy morning blanket sheets combined, while we have been enabled to advance our advertising rates from 25 cents to 40 cents per line. The *Sun* today is the most successful newspaper in the world while its future is illimitable.

By March, 1870, the circulation of the *Sun* had reached ninety thousand daily copies. Thus in a short time it had gained the front

⁴ Feb. 11, 1869.

⁵ Feb. 15, 1869.

⁶ May 28, 1869.

rank of New York newspapers, standing beside the *Herald*, *Tribune*, and the *Times*.⁷ During the Orange Riots its circulation soared. Not only was the whole city in commotion, but the *Sun* was the friend of Irish Catholics, and many judiciously complimentary articles were written about them.

By 1874 the *Sun's* average daily circulation exceeded 100,000. But during January, February and March of 1875, its usual record did not appear. Rosebault tells us that the anti-Beecher campaign cost Dana considerable circulation.⁸ When the tabulation was resumed, although the *Sun* was at the height of its attacks upon Beecher, no loss of circulation was evident. But Rosebault's statement is undoubtedly accurate. By April, 1875, accusations against Beecher were less shocking and some believed that he was guilty. During 1876 the daily circulation began ascending. This was due primarily to the exciting presidential election. On November 8, the most critical day of the Hayes-Tilden controversy, 220,000 copies of the *Sun* were sold—"a circulation never before paralleled or approached in the experience of any daily newspaper in the United States."⁹

The drop after the presidential election was unexpectedly great, and in 1877 the expected pick-up did not occur. During the week of the great railroad riots there was a noticeable demand for the *Sun*. But 1877 as well as 1878 definitely showed the results of Dana's scurrilous attacks upon Hayes. The *Sun* printed the following tabulation and editorial:

<i>Date</i>	<i>Daily Average</i>
April 1876	131,287
Aug. 1876	131,433
Dec. 1876	109,257
April 1877	104,470
Aug. 1877	107,664
Dec. 1877	103,030
April 1878	112,215
Aug. 1878	113,735
Dec. 1878	116,008

⁷ Bleyer, W. G., *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism*, 299.

⁸ *When Dana Was the Sun*, 216.

⁹ Nov. 9, 1876.

It will be observed that after November, 1876, after the conspiracy of Fraud had begun to carry out its plot for setting aside the overwhelming verdict of the country in favor of Tilden and against Hayes, the circulation of the *Sun* declined many thousands daily. This was a period of great moral and business depression throughout the country, and all our newspapers experienced its blighting effects, so disastrous to all commercial enterprise. The public was in a sort of stupor, from which it stood in desperate need of arousing. The heaviest blow our constitutional privileges had ever received was about to be inflicted upon them. . . .

Throughout the year 1877 the circulation of the *Sun* was at a comparatively low average, running from 102,304 in June, the lowest, up to 112,203 in February, the highest. The political and business depression continued to weigh on the spirits of the country, and it was during this year that the worst ills of hard times and the sorest consequences of the perfected Electoral Conspiracy were felt. During the first quarter of the present year the same causes operated injuriously on our circulation, but with the month of April it took a new start, and up to the end of September, when it stood at 116,084, it made pretty steady progress. . . .

Summing up the figures for the two years and nine months we find the circulation of the *Sun* in 1876 averaged 127,716, in 1877, 106,922, and in the nine months of 1878 has averaged 111,050. . . .¹⁰

Between 1879 and 1881 the *Sun* maintained a circulation of between seven and nine hundred thousand weekly copies. In 1881 it rose to a million copies per week. This was maintained throughout 1882, when the circulation was at a higher point than ever before. The fluctuations above the average circulation indicated that *Sun* readers were most affected by politics:

1872—Grant-Greeley	64,000
1876—Tilden-Hayes	94,000
1880—Garfield-Hancock	87,000
1872—October elections	16,000
1876—October elections	24,000
1880—October elections	23,000

Readers were also devoted to sports. Walking matches increased the *Sun's* edition from 20,000 to 40,000 copies. International sports on this side of the ocean were beneficial, but if held abroad no difference could be noted. A prize fight between Sullivan and Ryan in February, 1881, raised the *Sun's* average daily circulation that month by 11,000.

¹⁰ Oct. 10, 1878.

From three thousand to fifteen thousand people who did not subscribe to the *Sun* purchased it if a hanging occurred in the immediate neighborhood of the city, while the death of celebrated people by natural causes commanded less attention. Scarcely one thousand extra persons cared when Napoleon III died in January, 1873, and no one was interested in the death of Commodore Vanderbilt or Alexander T. Stewart. When the latter's will was published, interest revived slightly. The deaths of Pope Pius IX and William M. Tweed had their effect. On the first occasion a difference of 4,000 may be noted, and on the second, 5,000. Garfield's death, due to the unusual and tragic circumstances, caused an appreciable difference. The following table lists the events of greatest interest during the twenty-eight days when the circulation was the highest: ¹¹

1871	July 13—Orange riots	192,224
1872	Nov. 6—Presidential election, Grant-Greeley	159,583
1873	Nov. 5—New York State and City elections	158,247
1874	Nov. 4—Congressional and State elections	166,249
1875	Nov. 3—State and City elections	177,588
1876	Sept. 25—The Hell Gate Blast	159,700
	Oct. 11—October elections, Presidential year	159,369
	Nov. 8—Presidential election, Hayes-Tilden	222,390
	Nov. 9—Second day after election	158,751
	Nov. 10—Third day after election	156,565
1877	July 25—Railroad strikes and riots	156,565
	July 26—Railroad strikes and riots	152,764
1878	Nov. 6—City elections, defeat of Tammany	156,255
1879	Sept. 28—Last day of walking match	155,370
1879	Nov. 5—State and City elections	155,010
1880	Nov. 3—Presidential election, Garfield-Hancock	206,974
1881	July 3—Garfield assassination	176,093
	July 4—Second day after assassination	165,303
	July 5—Third day	158,912
	July 6—Fourth day	156,913
	Sept. 20—Garfield's death	212,525
	Sept. 21—Second day after Garfield's death	180,215
	Sept. 22—Third day	156,264
	Sept. 27—Garfield's burial	170,365
	Nov. 9—State elections	170,547
1882	Feb. 1—Potter building fire	153,780
	Mar. 5—Last day walking match	167,515

¹¹ Oct. 13, 1883.

One reason for the *Sun's* large circulation was that it sold for two cents. Other dailies, including the *Times*, *Herald*, and *Tribune*, cost four cents. But in May, 1883 Joseph Pulitzer took over the *World*, and in a short time demonstrated that he was a formidable competitor. In September, 1883, the *Times* cut its price in half and before a week passed the *Herald* and *Tribune* followed suit. Correspondingly a drop from 150,000 to 98,000 occurred in the *Sun*. This was partly due, during the last of the year, to the usual decline after a presidential election. Dana claimed that "The *Sun* continued to shine for all," but this drop really marked the end of the *Sun's* supremacy.

The Blaine, Cleveland, and Butler campaign was even more disastrous than attacks upon the Hayes' Administration. But Dana paid not the slightest attention. He continued to bombard the Democratic nominee with charge after charge which antagonized his readers. Meanwhile, his support of Butler intensified their revulsion. The *Evening Post* reported: "The *Sun* has, by its own figures, lost about 69,000 in weekly circulation between July 14 and September 15. That it should boldly publish these figures is a high proof of the editors' courage and candor."¹² But the time came when the circulation was no longer recorded. The *Nation* said, "The *Sun* has lost its readers because it has lost its character. Its old patrons have given it up because they have become disgusted with its political course."¹³

Dana's attacks on persons, from boiler inspectors to Presidents, were as clever as they were scurrilous. The consequence was not only a decrease in readers but a long list of enemies. Grant, for example, strongly condemned the *Sun*. The way in which Dana answered him should have been a warning to all who were tempted to defend themselves:

It pains us to say the President's reference to the *Sun* was incorrect as well as wanton. Spitting against the luminary of the day is doubtless a harmless practice so far as the luminary is concerned, but the poor lunatic who indulges in it is liable to make of himself an unseemly spectacle. It is not agreeable to see a President in the business. The first gentleman of the land ought to be intellectually, if not morally, above it. We were astonished therefore, at the unmannerly and inconsequential squirt which the President made at us in the course of his frightful mouthing against Gary. He there said that Gary's

¹² Sept. 23, 1884.

¹³ *Ibid.*, July 15, 1886.

speech "was more bitter in its personality and falsehood than anything he had ever seen in the New York *Sun*!"

Continuing with a statement that the *Sun* had never, in all its history, indulged in aimless or unnecessary personalities, Dana threatened Grant with an exposure of a moral nature:

If on the other hand, the President has been guilty of licentious practices of a private nature which affected him alone, and inflicted no corresponding evil upon the public, the *Sun* has borne no testimony and made no comment in regard to them. . . .

The *Sun* will not abandon its mission of regeneration. The President may expect new alarms and other exposures, as the public good requires them. We hear the mutterings of a fierce storm gathering over his stronghold—a storm which no rogue will think of escaping by taking refuge with his wonted patron—a storm before which even Grant will cower at last, helpless and dumb.¹⁴

Greeley was goaded into self-defense by the *Sun*'s hypocritical championship. Another conspicuous victim was that of our Consul-General to Alexandria, Egypt, while Grant was President. The following letter appeared over his signature in the *Sun*:

Sir: Why in the name of God can't the *Sun* leave me alone? I never in any manner injured you except it is in being a friend of John Young's and a "nephew of Gen. Butler." Well, there are crimes far worse than those. You sought me yourself; I was polite to you, or tried to be. If I failed, it was a fault inherent, and not intentional.

I am not, I never was a "Spanish agent," I never saw a Cuban bond, genuine or counterfeit. God knows I have no "Spanish gold," or indeed any other kind. . . .

Why should the Pyramids look with astonishment on the appointment of Gen. Butler's nephew to the land of the Pharaohs, any more than if it had been yourself in lieu of the New York Appraisership? I am of average intelligence and education, at least I know the amenities and proprieties which obtain among gentlemen all over the world, and what is better, I observe them. You allude to me and write of me as though I were an Algerine pirate or a Greek brigand.

By God, you'll drive me into enmity towards you by your wanton persecutions. . . .

I am seven thousand miles away, and I am not a public man. If you can't speak kindly or friendly, or even impartially of me, let me alone.¹⁵

Truly, Geo. Butler, Consul General

¹⁴ Apr. 11, 1874.

¹⁵ Aug. 18, 1870.

In reply to this "irate correspondent," the *Sun* said:

Either an Algerine pirate or a Greek brigand—in the estimation of New York today—would be a gentleman as compared with a friend of the Sneak News Thief, John Russell Young. . . . First, let us rebuke the Consul General for his shocking profanity. Profanity is a wicked habit. He should get rid of it, because it is wicked.¹⁶

Two months later the State Department caused the following statement to be published:

Washington, D.C. Oct. 21. Mr. Butler, Consul-General at Alexandria, has informed the Department of State that he has seen in the New York *Sun* a letter over his signature, addressed to the editor of that paper, which letter he stigmatizes as a forgery. He represents that a private letter of his, and marked as such, has been surreptitiously obtained, the address and official signature forged, and the text garbled; and that has been made the basis of the publication to which reference is made.

The *Sun* replied that the original letter, in Butler's handwriting, was in its office.

John Russell Young dealt with Dana in a more dignified manner. In explaining why Greeley had not received his just desserts in political life the *Sun* had assumed that one of the causes operating against him was Young's representation that "all Greeley wanted of the Administration was the appointment of Major General Hiram Wallbridge to be Collector." Something of Young's character is evident from his brief note:

The information upon which this is written is erroneous. I have made no "representations" to the Administration in reference to Mr. Greeley or Gen. Walbridge. Indeed, to make any "representation" on behalf of Mr. Greeley would have been an impertinence to that gentleman of which I could not be guilty.¹⁷

O'Donovan Rossa, a New York State politician, defended himself in the following letter which appeared under the scornful caption "Mr. O'Donovan Rossa's Confession":

Sir: You are quite at liberty to say anything you please as to where I go, whom I meet, and what propositions are made to me. . . . But when you come to

¹⁶ Aug. 18, 1870.

¹⁷ Apr. 14, 1869.

speaking my thoughts—when you say, “Rossa thinks he can control the Irish vote for Grant!” you say something that is unjust as regards my assumptions or presumptions. Rossa thinks he cannot control the Irish vote for anyone. He has reason to know that the Irish vote is controlled by tricksters, . . .

If the *Sun* will please tell me what Irish national interest, consistent with our duty as American citizens, is at stake between the election of Grant and Greeley, I will understand the appeal to Irish feelings. Up to this I see the question as purely an American one, and I would scorn to drag the name of Ireland into it.¹⁸

The Washington and Albany correspondence in the *Sun* was full of malicious gossip and invention. Often its ordinary reporting was inaccurate, as is proved by numerous letters of correction. For instance: William Dorsheimer sent the *Sun* a corrected copy of an address, since sentiments had been attributed to him “which I did not utter, but which I disavow and reject.”¹⁹ Alexander Troupe of the *Saturday Evening Union* informed the *Sun* that Governor English had not been drunk or under the influence of liquor when he entered the New Haven House.²⁰ Even Theodore Roosevelt wrote to correct the *Sun*’s assertion that he was opposed to the restriction of immigration.²¹ He told Henry Cabot Lodge in a private letter, “To my horror the *Sun* yesterday put me down as opposed to the restriction of immigration; this being the way they had construed an ardent appeal of mine to the labor union men to restrict it.”²² Schuyler Colfax wrote the *Tribune* the following statement:

So far from the statement being true which has been so widely published and credited to the New York *Sun*, that I “smoked five or six strong cigars that day on an empty stomach,” I smoked but one, just after breakfast, six hours before the attack.

I have had three previous attacks of vertigo (two while speaking), and have been warned by medical friends of the peril of a more dangerous attack. . . .

To this the *Sun* replied that since all the facts had been obtained directly from Colfax’s physician, the *Sun* must be right and Colfax mistaken.²³

¹⁸ Aug. 2, 1872.

¹⁹ July 8, 1879.

²⁰ Aug. 17, 1872.

²¹ Jan. 30, 1897.

²² *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge*, V. I, 251.

²³ June 9, 1871.

With a long list of "irate" correspondents, one might expect the *Sun* to show resentment, but Dana always enjoyed a shindy. A typical letter and reply may be cited:

Sir: As a constant reader of your paper, I would suggest that you publish a little less Greeley and more general news, or I shall be compelled to drop your paper altogether.

Yours,
M. Martin, 117 West Twelfth Street
Mr. M. Martin, 117 West Twelfth street, if there be such a man, is respectfully advised to drop the *Sun* at once and never look at another copy, much less buy or borrow one. It is evidently not suited to such a hopeless case as him.²⁴

This vilification of respectable persons made many despise Dana. Henry Adams wrote: "Charles A. Dana had made the *Sun* a very successful as well as a very amusing paper but had hurt his own social position in doing so; and Adams knew himself well enough to know that he could never please himself and Dana too; with the best intentions he must always fail as a blackguard, and at that time a strong dash of blackguardism was life to the *Sun*."²⁵ The *Nation* was horrified to have Dana include James Russell Lowell on its roll of "ignoramuses," because Lowell asked his Government "for instructions as to the length of residence in his native country necessary to exhaust the American citizenship of a naturalized citizen." It thought an apology should be made to Lowell.²⁶ In 1880 some of the *Sun*'s contemporaries contemptuously referred to the *Sun* as a "mud sling-machine." Dana thought them mistaken:

In the first place, the *Sun* is not a machine; it is a newspaper, as any one may see by looking at it. To be sure it is printed by machinery, and it has to be printed in that manner, on account of the vast number of copies which must be furnished for the use of our multitude of readers.

As to slinging, it is something we do not understand at all. We never slang. If the attention of our Republican contemporaries had not been diverted from Biblical truth by one of their own numbers known as Bob Ingersoll, they would remember that it was David, afterward King of Israel, who slang, and it was not mud that he slang, but a stone; and that stone smote Goliath the Philistine in the forehead, so that he fell upon his face to the earth, and was killed.

Having before us this grand example of the efficacy of stones, it would seem

²⁴ July 12, 1872.

²⁵ Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams*, 244.

²⁶ The *Nation*, June 8, 1882.

to us preposterous to sling mud, if we were going to sling anything. Besides, we have no mud to speak of, and certainly none to spare at present.²⁷

When Dana first took over the *Sun*, Grant was the hero of the nation, and his attacks upon the hero enraged Republicans almost beyond endurance. They were unwilling to believe that Grant was in any way implicated in the Black Friday Affair. Although Dana did not at first accuse Grant of dishonest intentions, the *Sun* said that he had no right to have his name connected with such an evil plot against the people. In these same years Dana was publishing ridiculous stories concerning Greeley's activities in Albany, insinuating that he influenced legislation. Furthermore, the circulation of the *Sun* was mounting, and aroused jealousy. These facts influenced the publication of a pamphlet entitled "The Biter Bit." Using as its basis an unfortunate experience of Dana's hiring a man who accepted money while acting as Albany Correspondent, the authors of the pamphlet wrote what purported to be a "narrative of some of the blackmailing operations of Charles A. Dana's *Sun*." They dared not sign it, but Dana believed he knew who was responsible:

James B. Mix, blackmailer; A. M. Soteldo, Jr., self-acknowledged scoundrel; Horace Greeley, philanthropist; and John Russell Young, convicted news thief, are responsible for an anonymous pamphlet of sixty nine pages, the product of a malicious but feeble disposition to injure the *Sun*. It is difficult to tell what this pamphlet means to charge. Its coward authors do not dare to make distinct accusations. I do, however, meet any insinuations which it may convey, or may be intended to convey, to the minds of the readers, in regard to the integrity and purity of the *Sun* by the following explicit and unqualified declaration.

I never received or agreed to accept, or was promised a dollar or a penny, or any other valuable consideration from any person or source whatever, directly or indirectly, to influence the course of the *Sun* on any subject or in any manner. . . .

Particular comment has been made on a certain article relating to the great gold conspiracy, and entitled "the Welchers in Wall Street." That article would have been printed but for the fact that before the paper went to press I discovered that the parties whom it attacked were of merely secondary importance, that the President of the United States was in the conspiracy, and—as any sensible man would do—I determined to go for the higher game. Accordingly I directed that article to be omitted and it was by a mere blunder in the printing office that it was printed in a smaller portion of the next morning's edition.

²⁷ June 30, 1880.

Whoever says that I ever received anything for suppressing that article is a liar.

Soteldo was one of the Albany correspondents of the *Sun* last winter. He is a bright, vivacious, vain, weak and silly fellow. It is very difficult to tell whether he is now sane or insane. He came to me some time since in company with Thomas C. Acton, and made a voluntary confession that he had corruptly received money while in Albany. He seemed very penitent indeed, almost heart-broken at the enormity of his own treacherous dereliction. He avowed to me that if I would forgive him that he would never offend again. Mr. Acton expressed the opinion that Soteldo would keep this promise. I felt unwilling to destroy the young man, not only on his own account, but also on account of his aged father. He has now destroyed himself.

Mr. Greeley is a Universalist, and believes that nobody will ever go to Hell, or he could not have been tempted to stand godfather to the anonymous libel of two scoundrels and one thief.²⁸

Lee claims that the "Biter Bit" did not shake the confidence of Dana's friends, "nor did it affect Dana's own confidence in Amos Cummings or Isaac England or any of the other subordinates who came over to the *Sun* from the *Tribune* and were incidentally assailed in this scurrilous pamphlet."²⁹ But Godkin must have believed the accusations were true. In 1869, he wrote: "The *Sun*, Dana's paper, has been rivaling the New York *Herald*, in its worst days, in ribaldry, falsehood, indecency, levity, and dishonesty—championing Judge Barnard for instance, and levying blackmail, to the horror of Dana's friends. He is now an object of general execration. I think I have never seen such nearly unanimous condemnation of a rascal, which is a good sign."³⁰ This was Godkin's honest opinion, but he was mistaken as to Dana's blackmailing operations. Friends of the editor, such as William Bartlett, might support corrupt judges, but no one paid Dana for influence in the *Sun*. Blinded by loyalties, he was often misled, but he never accepted bribes of any description.

Although the *Sun's* irate correspondents were numerous, they were not one quarter of those whom the *Sun* abused. Everyone connected with the Grant Administration; everyone who took part in the Hayes fraud; everyone near or dear to Horace Greeley; everyone who supported Cleveland and joined the Mugwumps, as well as many odd characters whom the *Sun* found reason to persecute, were treated as if they were the most stupid, ridiculous, or despicable freaks. There

²⁸ Jan. 6, 1871.

²⁹ Lee, James Melvin, *History of American Journalism*, 326-327.

³⁰ Ogden, Rollo, *Life and Letters of Edwin Lawrence Godkin*, VI, 305.

were two reasons why they accepted such base characterizations in silence: if they complained it inspired the *Sun* to further persecution; and they knew the force of its invective was minimized by its lack of discrimination. Had the *Sun*, with its wide circulation, confined its attacks to scoundrels, it might easily have driven them from decent society. Samuel W. McCall, writing the *Life of Thomas Brackett Reed*, makes this point. When Reed was being considered for Speaker, the *Sun* spoke of him as "an overgrown boy, who has not mastered the rudiments of the manual." McCall explains in a footnote; "The same dispatch impartially castigated all the other candidates."³¹ To-day this technique of abuse would not be tolerated. For a long time the *Sun* was not found in the libraries of the leading clubs in New York City or in the homes of well educated persons. For many years it was not allowed in the *Century*, pre-eminently the club of cultivated men.³² But Dana did not edit a cheap newspaper. He was a genius whose ability outshone his unscrupulousness; and it has been said that those who scorned to read the *Sun* in public, did so in private.³³

Dana's influence upon journalists of his day was enormous. Everywhere the newspaper man discovered his newspaper. Its financial success appealed to the striving editor, its daring to the cub reporter, its style, condensation, and brilliant literary qualities to the editor. Excerpts from hundreds of editorials which appeared in contemporary papers testify eloquently to the homage Dana received:

The delicate task of gaining new intellectual clientage while retaining the adhesion of the masses who have long looked to the *Sun* for light and warmth required the hand of a master, and is performed by nothing less. The *Sun* is now what cheap papers seldom are—or dear ones either—for that matter—really well-written.³⁴

The popular paper of the century is the New York *Sun*. Thoroughly independent, argus eyed, justly critical, paralyzing to evil doers in its rebukes, scathing in its attacks and fearless in its exposures.³⁵

The ablest and most trenchant editorials in America are found in the New York *Sun*.³⁶

Every newspaper office, no matter what its politics, feels the day incomplete

³¹ p. 94.

³² Rosebault, 185; Personal Interviews with publisher of contemporary magazine and with a distinguished scholar and writer who knew Dana well.

³³ Personal Interviews, *Ibid*.

³⁴ *Round Table*, Mar. 7, 1868.

³⁵ *The Aurora*, Jan. 17, 1877.

³⁶ *The Reporter*, Jan. 17, 1877.

which fails to bring with it the *Sun*, and every newspaper man will join the *Sun* in its own admiration of itself as a strong and striking figure in modern journalism.³⁷

The *Sun* is the best edited and the most thoroughly interesting paper in the United States.³⁸

There is but one newspaper in the United States, and that is the New York *Sun*. In this opinion I am not alone, but in company with every newspaper in the country. . . .

It is a great paper, the *Sun*, and while occasionally wrong it is yet the paragon of papers in this country, if not in the world.³⁹

Admirers of the *Sun* sometimes went too far even for Dana. When the *Boston Evening Star* wrote, "The editor tries always to be fair and just in his criticisms, and does not use the columns of his paper to make personal attacks upon those who chance to differ with him . . . ," it was placed in the *Sun* under the caption "Is This A Just Opinion?"⁴⁰

It has been suggested that a paper with the character of the *Sun* might not exert any political influence. Might not people read it only because it was entertaining? Would they not go to more serious and less biased sources for political direction? Contemporary journals did not believe this; they were convinced that the *Sun* exerted a tremendous influence although they differed in estimating its value and character.

Dana's most important exposure was the Credit Mobilier, which appeared shortly before the elections of 1872. That it did not affect Grant's re-election is attributed by Rhodes to the already prevalent disposition to vote for Grant.⁴¹ Oberholtzer is inclined to discredit the journal for its low moral standards and minimize the value of its disclosures on that basis. Moreover, as he writes, the *Sun* negated the effect of its exposures by an insincere support of Greeley, Grant's only opponent.

The course of the *Sun* during Hayes' presidency repelled many intelligent readers. They were not aroused to impeach him as Dana advised. On the contrary, the exaggerated attacks made friends for Hayes. Hayes was actually complimented by the low opinion of the

³⁷ Albany *Evening Journal*, Sept. 6, 1883.

³⁸ Washington *Post*, May 19, 1885.

³⁹ Toledo *Journal*, May 28, 1889.

⁴⁰ Nov. 23, 1882.

⁴¹ Rhodes, James F., *History of the United States*, VII, 1-2.

Sun. After leaving the White House, he wrote in his diary, "I am still honored with the hatred and persistent attacks of the New York *Sun*, the Philadelphia *Times*, S. J. Randall, and a small number of followers in various parts of the country. Their course proves that a good deal was done during my administration which was worthy of admiration."⁴² But one of Hayes' biographers, attests to the extent of the *Sun's* influence. One of Dana's less offensive jokes on the "ex-fraud" was that after leaving the White House, he devoted his energy to chicken-raising at Spiegel Grove instead of attending to good causes. More than thirty years after these stories appeared, Williams records that they were still believed. "An eminent and worthy Republican leader," he says, "who had been candidate for Governor of one of the greatest States of the Union, amazed the author, as he was about to begin the writing of this chapter, with a humiliating confession of his acceptance of the base and baseless fiction of the *Sun*."⁴³

At least two journals gave the *Sun* credit for the final defeat of "Secor Robberson" when his home district refused to return him to Congress in 1882:

No single agent did more to compass the defeat of Robeson than the *Sun*.

That paper has special reasons for being proud of the overthrow of what it termed "the penitentiary candidate." Every believer in pure methods and pure men in politics is under obligation to the *Sun* for its labors in that behalf.⁴⁴

While the awards are being made for meritorious service during the late campaign, the public will be sure to accord great credit to the *Sun* for the part it played in compassing the defeat of Secor Robeson. The *Sun* was persistent in exposing every venal act of his, and its determined fight against him, bristling with evidence of his venality and corruption, did more to expose him to his constituents and secure his defeat than all else.⁴⁵

It is practically impossible to determine the extent to which a single newspaper may or may not influence a presidential campaign. This was particularly true of the *Sun* because of the contradictions in its support of candidates and issues. From the time it turned against Grant in 1869 until the campaign of 1896, its burning purpose, so it appeared, was to rid the country of Republican rule. Yet the kind of support given Greeley made him ridiculous in the eyes of the voters.

⁴² Williams Charles R., *The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, II N. 429; Oct. 23, 1881.

⁴³ Williams, II. 431.

⁴⁴ Nov. 14, 1882, *Macon Telegraph and Messenger*.

⁴⁵ Boston *Evening Star*, Nov. 14, 1882.

In 1876 the only year in which the *Sun* gave serious support to both the Democratic party and its candidate, Tilden received a majority of the popular votes. What part the *Sun* played in effecting this result it is impossible to determine. But the country was thoroughly disgusted by Republican corruption, a feeling which the *Sun* had helped to engender. That Dana was genuinely devoted to Tilden and thoroughly convinced that Hayes was a fraud is well substantiated. Yet when the time came in 1880, to rebuke the Republican party, the *Sun* forfeited the opportunity for a joke. Its gibe at Hancock's personal appearance made him a laughing stock, and did more, in the estimation of Champ Clark, to defeat him than his own ill-advised talk about the tariff.⁴⁶ A similar opinion was expressed by the Albany *Evening Journal*:

The *Sun* is doubtless the most widely read of American newspapers. In some lines it is very influential, too, for its simple allusion to a Presidential candidate as a good man weighing 250 pounds, once on a time is held by many to have changed the result of a national election. People do not dare to think what would have happened had the *Sun* spoken of that unhappy candidate as a bad man.⁴⁷

In 1872, the *Sun* had done more than any other journal to drive home the fact that James A. Garfield was badly implicated in the Credit Mobilier scandal. Yet now it helped make him President with a smart remark.

In 1884, when word was received that Cleveland had been nominated for President, Dana paced the floor, his face the picture of hard concentration. Striking one fist into his open palm, he declared, "It isn't Cleveland. It can't be Cleveland. It shan't be Cleveland."⁴⁸ Here was an opportunity to clean out the den of Republican thieves and carry the Democratic party to victory on the *Sun*'s platform of reform. But Dana hated the ponderous virtues of New York's reform governor, and for the second time refused to support the candidate of his party. Instead he supported Butler, for the purpose, so some critics maintain, of electing Blaine. Although the *Sun* entered the campaign with characteristic energy, its influence, as measured by results, was nil. It proved that *Sun* readers would not countenance such an editorial travesty on public morality. Thousands preferred to cancel their sub-

⁴⁶ *My Quarter Century of Politics*, 180.

⁴⁷ Sept. 6, 1883.

⁴⁸ Rosebault, Charles J., *When Dana Was the Sun*, 221.

scriptions. In the State of New York Butler received less than seventeen thousand votes; in the nation, only 175,300. A journal of the day remarked: "Side shows do not pay. Butler, despite the powerful support of the *Sun* polls only 15,000 in this State. This is a ridiculous undertaking."⁴⁹ On the other hand the *American Protectionist*, which considered the *Sun* the most powerful daily newspaper in America, said had it not been for Dana's work in the campaign, Cleveland's plurality might have been much larger than it was. "Under the circumstances," it believed "Mr. Blaine made a wonderful run in this city and State."⁵⁰

The *Sun's* attacks upon Cleveland were as absurd and vindictive as any upon Grant or Hayes, and were more malicious. It made a practice of praising Cleveland for those acts which it believed would alienate him from his supporters. In 1887 it insisted that:

In writing the famous Fellows letter, declaring himself distinctly in favor of the election of the celebrated Democratic candidate for District attorney of this city, Mr. Cleveland undoubtedly made a conspicuous concession to the Democratic political machine on the spoils basis—that is to say, to the United Democracy of New York. This at once excited a remarkable degree of disgust and distrust among the Mugwumps; and they have condemned and criticized and even reviled Brother Cleveland in a loud, active, and bitter fashion.

The *Nation* sarcastically remarked that this was as near to the truth as Dana usually came. It then stated that when Cleveland understood the kind of candidate Fellows was, he immediately recalled the letter, saying that had he known the facts he could not possibly have written it.⁵¹

The *Nation* accused the *Sun* of playing a much slyer game in 1888 than in 1884, when it had "tried to elect Blaine." Dana's name, so it said, was "hissed at the County Democracy and Tammany Hall," yet he continued to say one word for Cleveland and Thurman and three against them in every issue of the paper. It pointed out that the *Sun's* self-appointed function as spokesman for the Democracy caused its frequent prediction that the Democrats would have a close fight to be quoted by Republican papers as "important Democratic admissions," to the great injury of the party. On the other hand it said:

⁴⁹ The *Hour*, Nov. 8, 1884.

⁵⁰ Nov. 24, 1884

⁵¹ The *Nation*, Dec. 1, 1887.

Few things calculated to injure the Democratic ticket escape the editorial eye or fail to get into the *Sun's* columns but it is very rarely that a sign of defection from the Republican ticket and platform like, the *Chicago Tribune* article for example, find the light there.⁵²

Several attacks upon Cleveland were acutally revolting. Perhaps the worst that ever appeared in the *Sun* was Dana's reply to an interview which the ex-President gave a reporter on the *World*. It was entitled "Remarks to a Cowardly Liar":

To provoke sympathy for himself, Mr. Cleveland deliberately drags the name of his wife into an interview intended for publication, charging the *Sun* with an offense which, if the charge is true, ought to render this newspaper odious to every gentleman on Manhattan Island, to every honorable man who respects womanhood. The charge is false, and Mr. Cleveland knew it was false when he uttered it. There is but one answer we care to make. We invite Mr. Cleveland to point to a line or a word that ever appeared in the *Sun* concerning the good woman whose name he thus degrades, which justifies directly or indirectly, the statement contained in the paragraph quoted above. If he cannot do that—and he cannot—we invite the attention of the community to the portrait of a selfish poltroon, an unworthy husband, about whose conduct in this affair nothing can be said by any person of sensitive perception that will not leave on the coarse and swollen face peeping from behind the edge of his wife's garments, a red mark like the sting of a whip lash.⁵³

It was true that Dana had never openly maligned Mrs. Cleveland, but it was more than doubtful that Cleveland had accused him of it. Dana must have believed the interview in the *World* authentic, but the *Nation* said it was faked. A month later the *Sun* referred to a conspiracy "to relieve Mr. Cleveland at the sacrifice of the honorable man who had told the truth in his report of the interview." The *Nation* said, "Most people who had been led to believe that they had been called 'dirty liar and thief' would be glad to know no such term had been applied. Not so Dana! He rejoices to believe they were applied to him. He hugs them."⁵⁴ The *Sun* continued trying to provoke Cleveland into a statement as to whether or not the *Sun* had spoken ill of Mrs. Cleveland and if so what it was it had said. Yet despite the *Sun's* attacks over a period of ten years, which were redoubled in 1892, Cleveland was twice elected

⁵² *Ibid.*, July 5, 1888.

⁵³ Apr. 18, 1890.

⁵⁴ The *Nation*, April 24, 1890.

President. It is doubtful if anyone believed that Dana's attacks were not motivated by personal animosity.

The *Sun* called itself the champion of the working classes. But while its criticisms of their oppressors could be trenchant and its appeals poignant, the corrective measures which it advocated lacked vigor. Its virtues and faults in this respect are evident in the following editorial:

Among the White Slaves of New York perhaps there are no greater sufferers, or a more cruelly oppressed class of human beings, than the hoop-skirt factory girls. In some of the manufactories the girls are obliged to hold the tin clamps or spangles in their mouths while performing the operation of spangling. By a dexterous sleight of hand, tongue, and lips together, the tins are conveyed almost instantaneously one by one, from the mouth to the spot where they are needed under the spangling machine. When these girls first enter the factory and begin this branch of the work it is more than a week before the tongue and lips become sufficiently indurated to enable them to perform the operation without the intensest pain arising from the laceration caused by the sharp pointed edges of the tins, eating and speaking becoming almost impossible. . . . We were told by the foreman that the girls there worked fourteen hours a day, and, in times of press, eighteen hours. . . . Upon being asked if they could continue working long at that rate, /the foreman/ coolly replied, "They wear out in about two years."

. . . Among the many charities in New York, is it not singular that a Home of Rest for Worn out Workwomen has never been suggested? Two or three weeks, or a few months, would restore the exhausted powers of nature, and give time for seeking new employment.⁵⁵

The solution offered for this evil is almost as shocking as the portrayal of it. Fourteen to eighteen hours of employment in labor which incapacitated working women demanded radical correction. Dana wanted a home of rest. Had he been willing to carry on a crusade in behalf of the exploited factory worker such as the *Tribune* carried on against slave labor, some improvement might have been effected. But Dana's crusading spirit was turned to vindicating his wounded pride. The *Sun's* superb talents were directed against individuals and political corruption. Consequently measures designed to deal directly with the cause of social and economic problems were designated as "humbug" and those who advocated them as visionaries and hypocrites. Thus the *Sun*, quick to detect evil and cry for reform, canceled its influence by ridiculing many of those who were devoted to bringing it about.

⁵⁵ July 13, 1870.

The *Sun's* attitude toward organized labor provides a striking example of the way in which it minimized its influence. It upheld the right of workers to strike, but whenever they did so, condemned them for picketing, rioting, or anarchistic tendencies. Its stand against violence would have been admirable had it been applied to both sides. It supported arbitration only in theory. Any law which tended to correct abuses by the intervention of the Government, it opposed. The Knights of Labor thought the *Sun* the most contemptible of all newspapers.⁵⁶

On the tariff and on national finance the *Sun* blunted its influence by too frequent contradictions. This was due, not to insufficient knowledge of the subject or to lack of factual information, but to emotional factors. In supporting or opposing tariff and financial measures, Dana was guided quite as much, by his interpretation of motives and the emotions aroused thereby as by his grasp of the principles involved. Likewise his own proposals and advice in respect to tariff and finance were as often the product of preconceived ideas, personal grudges, or animosities as of knowledge, sound judgment or statesmanship.

There were times when these emotions enabled him to render the public a valuable service. A conspicuous illustration is afforded by his position upon Reconstruction. The *Sun*, prior to March, 1869, shows what its attitude toward the South might have been, had Dana retained his admiration for Grant and the Republican party, or had it devolved upon him, in some official capacity, to assist in carrying out the Reconstruction policy of Congress. Disillusionment with Grant opened Dana's eyes and turned him into a skeptic. Instead of giving countenance to stories of "Southern Outrages," as the *Sun* had done in 1868, it questioned them and often discovered that they were false or exaggerated. Dana told the truth about the corruption, extravagance, and ignorance of the Negro-Carpetbag-Scalawag Governments and the intervention of the Federal authorities in behalf of local Republican machines. Instead of denouncing Southern leaders for ingratitude as it had done prior to March, 1869, the *Sun* praised their courage and forbearance and called upon the North to put an end to Grant's bayonet rule. When Dana told his readers that his condemnation of Reconstruction and Grantism would one day be vindicated, he predicted well.

In his foreign policy, Dana deprecated war, but was not above demagogic appeals to mass sentiment. The *Sun* encouraged Fenian raids

⁵⁶ May 21, 1887.

into Canada, sneered at all that was British, applauded unworthy proposals for injuring England, and supported Cleveland in his vulnerable Venezuela message. The country escaped war with England, but not with Spain. Thirty years of consistent agitation for Cuban independence, coupled with an uninterrupted propaganda against all that was Spanish, must have done much to make the conflict certain. Here, as in all other foreign fields, the *Sun* was nationalistic, jingoistic, and imperialistic.

In various policies which sprang from this nationalism, the *Sun* contradicted itself. On one occasion it insisted that the United States must adhere to a self-denying policy in avoiding annexation of Nicaragua because we maintained friendly relations with that Government; but on another it urged the overthrow of the Hawaiian Government, with which we had no quarrel. The *Nation* commented that its policy toward Nicaragua was a graceful admission that it had been wrong in its stand regarding Hawaii.⁵⁷ Undoubtedly Dana imparted some of his selfish Americanism to his readers. But in one direction he met no success. There is little evidence that his crusade for the annexation of Canada ever received serious support; while the change in relations between the United States and Great Britain following the Venezuelan dispute rapidly broke down the anti-British sentiment fostered by the *Sun*.

Thus while the *Sun's* criticisms were carried to thousands of readers by an enormous circulation there is little indication that its editorial policy ever significantly influenced the course of events. Why then did the *Sun* have so many readers? One reason lay in the richness, pungency, and variety of its humor. It made people laugh even while they condemned. No two cents provided so much amusement, malicious or good natured, depending upon the taste and disposition of the reader. People liked jokes at the expense of public men, witty indignation or scorn directed at public measures and events. There was also much humor that was free from spite. When in 1890 Chicago completed an assembly hall for the use of meat-packers—grandly referred to as the "auditorium"—the *Sun* suggested it be named "Choiropolagora":

There is nothing mysterious or fraudulent about Choiropolagora. It doesn't even need a Bostonian to explain that this proposed name for Chicago's big hall signified "a place of assembly for citizens more or less directly concerned in transactions in pork, either alive or slaughtered."

⁵⁷ The *Nation*, June 1, 1893.

That is the beauty of the Greek. How could so much that is truly description of the big hall be compressed into fourteen letters, except by falling back on that language? Besides, the word is vocally superb, and yet not difficult to pronounce. Its resonant syllables would roll forth by installments from the lips of the Chicago citizens like the reverberations of the wave beats on Lake Michigan in its wildest mood. . . . And, whispered low and softly, how musical the syllables! "I have tickets tonight for the Boss Minstrels at the Choiropolagora." Why, the invitation would strike the maiden's left ear like a zephyr wafted all the way from the isles where burning Sappho loved and sang.⁵⁸

A great deal of the *Sun's* popularity was due to its mirror-like quality. It reflected the ideas and emotions of its readers. It flattered them and aroused their patriotism. Its religious tolerance, again, excited the loyalty of minority and non-Protestant sects. Its solicitous interest in domestic and personal problems made it welcome in the average home. Likewise the people who were socially and critically minded read the *Sun*. One reader, who accepted the *Evening Post* and *Nation* as her political guides, told the author that she read the *Sun* every day as a corrective to her Mugwump righteousness because she wanted to know what Dana had to say and knew it would both challenge and amuse her.⁵⁹

The *Nation* believed that the *Sun* greatly increased its circulation in 1885 by printing the so-called obscenities of W. T. Stead's famous revelations of the traffic in women in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and could not help wondering if the accumulated profit was enough to compensate for the putting of "filthy reading matter" in the hands of young persons.⁶⁰ Sensationalism in the *Sun* was a factor in its popularity, its circulation, and its demoralizing influence. Many articles were sensational in themselves, and many became sensational in the hands of a *Sun* reporter. Trials of ministers for immorality, opium eaters, family quarrels, rapes, murders, and suicides abounded. The *Nation* once scathingly computed the space devoted on a particular day to this kind of reporting. An insignificant amount was left for political and foreign news. "As a microcosm the page is not often surpassed and must interest foreign students of American manners," it commented.⁶¹

In discussing the influence of the press, the *Nation* published the following paragraph soon after Dana had died:

⁵⁸ Jan. 8, 1890.

⁵⁹ Personal Interview with Ida M. Tarbell.

⁶⁰ *The Nation*, July 23, 1885.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Sept. 20, 1886.

. . . one paper struck out on the novel line of abusing and ridiculing everybody whom the community considered good or respectable, highly eulogizing the persons whom the community considered criminal or depraved, and treating most of the subjects which the community considered serious as good jokes, or fit subjects for ridicule. The success of this was great for twenty-five years. The paper circulated among thousands of people, passing for grave and decent, who enjoyed its paradoxes, its satire, and found its indifference to truth amusing; and the editor was invited to at least one college to lecture to the students on "Journalism," and preserved a reputation for wit, scholarship, and general editorial "greatness." A generation grew up under his influence which naturally learned to doubt the value of everything but money, the sincerity of all reformers, and the utility of patriotism for anything but war.⁶²

A similar attitude was taken by *The Critic*, which declared that Dana's paper "exerted a more pernicious influence than any other American journal published within the memory of living men."⁶³ This opinion is shared by a distinguished commentator and former editor who told the author that he considered Dana the most unscrupulous man in American journalism. He thought him absolutely cynical, without political principle, and armed with a diabolical pen.⁶⁴

Willard Grovesnor Bleyer, however, is more generous. In his opinion Dana was guided politically by what he considered the best interests of the country. While he admits that the *Sun* subordinated informative news to amusing matter, thus tending to lower newspaper standards, he seems to feel that Dana did some constructive work.⁶⁵

But Dana would not have been disconcerted in the least by comments like these. Had he been living to reply he might easily have written, as he did in 1881:

The *Sun* shines, as always for all, big and little, mean and gracious, contented and unhappy, Republican and Democratic, depraved and virtuous, intelligent and obtuse. The *Sun's* light is for mankind and womankind of every sort; but its genial warmth is for the good, while it pours hot discomfort on the blistering backs of the persistently wicked.

The *Sun* of 1868 was a newspaper of a new kind. It discarded many of the forms and a multitude of the superfluous words and phrases of ancient journalism. It undertook to report in a fresh, succinct, unconventional way all the news of the world, omitting no event of human interest and commenting upon

⁶² *Ibid*, Nov. 25, 1897.

⁶³ *The Critic*, Oct. 23, 1897.

⁶⁴ Personal interview with Oswald Garrison Villard.

⁶⁵ *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism*, 302.

affairs with the freshness of absolute independence. The success of this experiment was the success of the *Sun*.⁶⁶

But the pen of the editor has been laid down. As the nineteenth century drew to its close those in the old *Sun* building were saddened by the absence of one whom they had loved as a master and friend. In June, 1897, Dana began to feel unwell. He finally resigned himself to an incurable malady with which he was afflicted, and waited for death in the house which, during his life, had been a refuge from the clang of the presses. On October 18, 1897, in compliance with his previous instructions, there appeared two lines at the head of the editorial column:

Charles Anderson Dana, Editor of
The Sun, died yesterday afternoon.

But he had achieved his goal: the *Sun* had set a new standard in journalism. It had also served as the medium of Dana's animosities, loyalties and prejudices. Although he craved recognition of his work, he cared not a rap whether people acclaimed or criticized his ideas. This fact should be borne in mind in evaluating the *Sun* as an organ of public opinion. It is doubtful if Dana cared to influence his readers in regard to public affairs one-tenth part as much as he wanted them to read and enjoy the *Sun* because they appreciated its merits as a newspaper.

In this ambition he met with singular success. Tens of thousands who remained loyal to Grant, forgot the Crime of 1876, admired Cleveland, spurned Tammany, refused to consider the annexation of Canada, adhered consistently to the Gold Standard, tariff for revenue only and civil service reform read the *Sun* every day for the sheer enjoyment it gave them. It was like a tonic: often bitter, seldom pleasing, but always refreshing. They laughed at its pungent wit; admired its withering attacks upon those in high places; found its inconsistencies entertaining, even if exasperating; were thrilled or horrified by its sensational human-interest stories; delighted in its amazing vocabulary and beautifully written prose, no matter how trivial or serious the subject.

In the *Sun*'s office journalism was pursued as an art for art's sake. The *Sun* was created not manufactured. Dana did not ask, does the

⁶⁶ Nov. 4, 1881.

Sun exert an influence for good or bad, but rather has it made a contribution to the profession of journalism. This was the tribute he coveted most and the one he most deserved. Being instinctively an artist he could only give expression to what he truly believed and felt however perverse and blameworthy the *Sun's* editorials appeared to others. Nor did he hesitate to break with "the most imperative rule" of the old journalism, "that editorial writing shall be free from the characteristics of the writer," by declaring: "This is ruinous to good writing, and damaging to the sincerity of writers. . . . If we choose to glow or cry out in indignation, we do so, and we are not a bit frightened at the sound of our own voice." ⁶⁷

Despite the criticism heaped upon Dana by leading journalists, both past and present, his genius as a newspaperman is not only acknowledged today, but was recognized by many of the foremost rivals and critics of the *Sun* among his contemporaries. In 1865 Samuel Bowles called Dana "one of the most eclectic of American scholars, one of the most executive of American minds." ⁶⁸ Henry Watterson wrote in his paper of Dana in 1873: "he . . . has performed with the *Sun*, a feat in modern journalism that entitles him to the stag-horns laid down at the death of James Gordon Bennett. Mr. Dana is no less a writer and scholar than an editor." ⁶⁹

Through the forty years since 1897 the *Sun* spirit has proven unquenchable. The secret of the *Sun's* success did not die with Dana. It has lived in the fact that he had attracted to the *Sun* exceptionally talented men of similar standards, but as highly individualized as himself. Dana had no desire to produce hybrids of himself or to graft the talents of others to his own. The *Sun* office was not a nursery, but a training school. And in this school there was no standardized Dana formula to perish with him. In the blending of talents which he perfected, individual identity was surrendered to create a lasting journalistic tradition.

⁶⁷ O'Brien, 302-303.

⁶⁸ *Across the Continent*, 3.

⁶⁹ O'Brien, 294.

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EXPLANATORY NOTE

By far the major portion of the material for this book has been drawn from the files of the New York *Sun* during Dana's editorship, January, 1868 to October, 1897. The first two and last chapters are based largely on biographies and magazine articles about Dana, histories of the *Sun* and contemporary newspapers, together with books on journalism and the outstanding journalists of Dana's day.

A few standard histories covering this period and numerous monographs, biographies, autobiographies, reminiscences and memoirs were read for the purpose of comparing the day to day picture of individuals, happenings and ideas presented in the *Sun* with the facts and opinions advanced by both contemporary writers and later historians. Likewise the files of the New York *Tribune*, *Times*, *World*, *Herald* and *Evening Post* were examined for comparison on a number of highly controversial issues.

In addition all current periodicals from the year 1868 to the present were carefully searched for articles on or reference to Dana and the *Sun*. Of these the following were most helpful:

The American Magazine. January, 1909.

Atlantic Monthly. July, 1874.

The Book Buyer. February, 1899.

The Bookman. November, 1895; February, 1902; December, 1904.

The Chataquan. June, 1895; June, 1896; March, 1898; April, 1898; July, 1899.

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Cosmopolitan Magazine. October, 1892; November, 1894; May, 1897; December, 1897.

The Critic. September 3, 1887; October 23, 1897.

Current Literature. May, 1901.

The Eclectic Magazine. October, 1887.

The Forum. August, 1893.

Harper's New Monthly Magazine. December, 1871; August, 1894.

The Independent. January 18, 1900.

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Lippincott's Monthly Magazine. August, 1871; November, 1892.

The Living Age. August 27, 1898.

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McClure's Magazine. October, 1894; May, 1895; October, 1897; December, 1897.

Munsey's Magazine. January, 1892; November, 1900.

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Another source of valuable material came from two or three people who had known Dana personally and read the *Sun* and from others who remembered what they had heard about him and his paper. Information obtained in this way has, by special request, been treated as confidential unless specific permission was given to footnote its source.

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